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ABSTRACT

Approaches to help women in educational administation be successful in their professional and personal lives are considered in this collection of 30 articles. Among the titles and authors are: "The Society of Outsiders: Women in Administration" (Marian Swoboda, Jane Vanderbosch); "Upward Mobility for Women Administrators" (Adrian Tinsley); "Do Chloe and Olivia Have a Future? A Proposal for Feminist Pedagogy and Peer Relations" (A. Harriette Andreadis); "Women Administrators for the 1980s: A New Breed" (Sandra Y. Benton); "Strategies for the 'Ascent of Woman' in Higher Education Administration in the 80s" (Margaret E. Holt); "Women Administrators and Mobility: The Second Struggle" (Kathryn M. Moore, Mary Ann D. Sagaria); "Young Management Women: A New Look" (Ann D. Knudson); "Women Doctoral Students in Higher Education Administration: Life-Style Aspirations and Multiple Role Commitments" (Felice J. Dublon); "Men and Women in Educational Administration Programs" (Catherine Marshall); "A Comparative Career Profile of Female and Male University Administrators" (Joan Dellimore Barrax); "A Washington Perspective on Women and Networking: The Power and the Pitfalls" (Madeleine F. Green); "Two Opportunities for Mentoring: A Study of Women's Career Development in Higher Education Administration" (Elizabeth J. McNeer); "Duel-Career Couples in Higher Education" (Marjorie Weishaar, Kathy Chiaravalli, and Ferdinand Jones); "The Importance of Professional Involvement" (Peggy Elder); "Career Patterns of High-Level Women School Administrators" (Jean Stockard); "Women in Community College Administration: A Progress Report" (Ruth M. Hemming); and "The Woman Principal: Superior to the Male?" (Sylvia-Lee Tibbetts). (SW)

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Strategies and Attitudes

Women in Educational Administration

A Book of Readings

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Strategies and Attitudes

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Women in Educational Administration

Patricia A. Farrant, Editor

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Patricia A. Farrant has been editor of the **Journal of the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors** and a member of the NAWDAC Executive Board since 1980. She earned a PhD in English from the University of Iowa, an MA in English, with honors, from the University of Chicago, and a BA from Rockford College, summa cum laude with honors in English. She has been a teacher of writing, literature, and journalism. At present, she is Assistant Vice President in the Public Affairs Division of The American College Testing Program. A Ford Fellow and member of Phi Beta Kappa, Dr. Farrant has presented a number of workshops on writing for professional publication.

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About the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors

The National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors (NAWDAC) is a national professional association dedicated to providing professional support for women educators through programs, services, advocacy, and scholarly publications. The Association embraces activity in the areas of administration, counseling and individual development, activities and services, instruction, and research that women educators conduct in educational institutions and agencies. It is committed to lifelong learning and to furthering educational opportunities for students and women professionals at all levels of learning, growth, and development. Throughout its history, the Association has focused on professional development and advancement of women educators.

The Association's professional programs, services, and scholarly publications provide a balance between response to changing societal needs and the preservation and advancement of NAWDAC's original goals and purposes. The Association offers a diverse environment for leadership, scholarship, and creative work, and it provides unique opportunities for women educators to contribute to education at the local and national levels.

National Association for
Women Deans
Administrators
and Counselors

Preface

In her preface to NAWDAC's first book of readings on women in educational administration, which appeared in 1979, Editor Margaret Berry observed that there had been a steady increase in articles on this subject in the **Journal of the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors** since the middle of the 1970s. As the articles in this volume attest, that trend has continued into the 1980s.

As it has for nearly half a century, NAWDAC's **Journal** continues both to reflect the changes that are occurring in the professional and personal lives of women in education and to point early on to the issues and influences that may shape their futures.

The 38 articles in this volume have been selected from nearly 200 published in the **Journal** between 1979 and 1985. They range in scope from broad overviews of the profession to very personal accounts. And the array of topics is similarly wide—assessments of the current role and status of women in educational administration; the implications of being an "outsider," a "newcomer," in a field still dominated by men; comparisons of the characteristics of men and women professionals in education; studies of women administrators in specific settings and areas; such practical matters as managing dual-career families, establishing networks, finding mentors, addressing sexual harassment, working productively with women colleagues; meeting the special challenges facing minority women.

But through this diversity there is a common thread. Each of the articles has been chosen for inclusion in the volume because it offers something usable, something practical—information or insights that may help women administrators develop the strategies and the attitudes they need to be successful and effective in their professional and personal lives. The authors deliver these "messages" in many ways, through reports on the results of research, through descriptions of programs and projects, through very personal revelations about the realities of the work they do and the choices they make.

Some of the writers whose work appears in this book are seasoned scholars who have published many articles and books. Many others, however, are relatively new to the business of writing for professional publication. As editor, I know that for some of these authors the process of translating an idea into a publishable article has been the kind of rewarding struggle that inevitably characterizes real accomplishment. It has been my privilege and pleasure to interact with and to learn from each of these authors—both the old pros and the newcomers—over the years. Special acknowledgment must also be given to the dozens of women who have served on **Journal** editorial boards. Their willingness to devote the time and energy it takes to review manuscripts thoughtfully and thoroughly has been a significant factor in the continuing quality of the articles the association has been able to publish.

Patricia A. Farrant
Editor

The Society of Outsiders: Women in Administration

Marian Swoboda and Jane Vanderbosch

The article analyzes a paradigm from literature, Virginia Woolf's "Society of Outsiders," as a possible prototype for women in administration. It considers the goals and strategies of the society as possible theoretical bases from which to assess and to transform academic organizations, as well as the roles and behaviors of women within them.

The woman administrator in academe is an anomaly. Constituting a fraction of the executive cohort, she is met with a system of values and a code of behaviors designed to accommodate and perpetuate its masculine character. Myths surrounding her gender soon became countervailing forces against the fact of her position: a woman president, dean, or chancellor is seen first as a woman, and belatedly as an administrator.

Since being an anomaly is no less difficult than understanding one, the woman administrator often attempts to reduce the dissonance between her gender and her status. These attempts are made difficult by the fact that, as Thomas Kuhn (1970) has observed, anomalies—because of their potential to subvert the power of existing paradigms to explain phenomena—are rarely welcomed into closed systems, be they disciplines or professions.

As misfits within the closely ordered and male-defined structure of the academy, a woman has had basically two options available to her: she could either live her womanliness up or she could live it down. In living it down, a woman attempts to "neuterize" and to neutralize her gender in order to gain acceptance on the profession's terms; in living it up, she either integrates or emphasizes her gender in order to gain respect on her own terms. Both strategies are undertaken for a single purpose, though: to compensate for the threat of collegial disapproval. Both are mutually exclusive responses to the dilemma that faces every woman in administration: to fit or not to fit.

"Fitting" may be the nub of the question, but it is hardly the entirety of the answer. It presupposes, for one thing, that personal and professional acceptance are incompatible, that a woman must continue to make choices that no man is ever forced to make: between family and career, between self-defined and institutional goals, between identity and role. Fitting implies dichotomizing the public self and the private person and more than implies that false (i.e., unnecessary) choices need to be made in order to maintain the split between who a woman is and who she is perceived to be.

The works that have been published about the executive woman in the last decade (Cannie, 1979; Fenn, 1978; Harragan, 1977; Hennig & Jardim, 1977; Williams, 1977) reinforce, for the most part, the idea that a woman must reduce the threat of her womanliness if she is to

have any chance of success: she must dress in a certain way, behave in a certain way, plan her career in a certain way. These works all assume that the woman must change, since the system will not; they all assume that the stereotypes surrounding the executive woman are to be lived down or up without pause or reflection. They assume, in effect, that the executive woman is, underneath the make-up and clothes, the education and experience, just like any other woman: a slave to cultural as well as couturial fashion.

The range of behaviors available to the woman administrator is often as circumscribed as that available to her secretarial foremothers—the first women to wedge open the office door. She is asked to be, not who she is, but what men want her to be. An anomaly within male-defined paradigms of knowledge and power, she is asked, and sometimes required, to accede to the dictates of a man-centered institution not only to succeed, but to survive. She is asked to believe that her needs and those of the organization are consonant; that upholding the status quo will be good for her, good for business. But what if the woman administrator lived her professional life according to more woman-centered norms? What if she replaced a dichotomous dilemma—living it up or living it down—with a code more in keeping with the appropriateness of a behavior to her own needs, the requirements of the task, the means available to her, and the goals of the institution? What if she developed a whole repertoire of strategies based upon her perceptions of her position, not society's perceptions of her gender?

Such a woman-centered paradigm is not pie-in-the-sky theorizing. In fact, one was developed by the British woman novelist Virginia Woolf (1938) nearly 50 years ago. In *Three Guineas*, a feminist satire that she wrote as a response to fascism, Woolf envisioned the "Society of Outsiders," a collection of educated women loyal first to themselves and other women, then to their professions. The Society, which "would have no office, no committee, no secretary; it would call no meetings; it would hold no conferences," would be a self-selecting network of highly articulate women united by both a willingness "to earn their own livings" and a desire to transform their work and their culture. A member of the Society, according to Woolf, would at once be supporter and subverter of the status quo: she would be enduring enough to make her own way, intelligent enough to become indispensable, and skeptical enough to want to change institutions that trivialize her endurance and belittle her intelligence.

The range of behaviors available to the woman administrator is often as circumscribed as that available to her secretarial foremothers—the first women to wedge open the office door.

Simply by surviving in a hostile or, at best, indifferent environment, an Outsider is also an Insider. Knowing the system well enough to prevail as much as endure, she uses this knowledge to do two things simultaneously: overtly maintain a sexually repressive institution and covertly reform it from within. While it may sound as if the Outsider is just a variation on the Superwoman theme, Woolf has too much intelligence and common sense to suggest that being an Outsider is easy. But neither does she suggest that being an Outsider is any more difficult than simply being a woman.

An Outsider, says Woolf, walks a tightrope. She is prudent enough to know that her survival is itself a subversive act; she is wise enough to understand that she is constantly in danger of being changed for the worse by institutions she seeks to change for the better. A woman-centered woman in the middle of a male preserve, she is able to view her situation objectively and subjectively, from the proverbial inside as an Outsider.

Woolf not only invests the Outsider with clarity of purpose and a critical appreciation of her environment, she also maintains that the Outsider develops two characteristics that are, ultimately, feminist strategies for change: a tolerance for ambiguity and

what Woolf calls "freedom from unreal loyalties." A tolerance for ambiguity allows the Outsider to discard either-or solutions like living it up or living it down. Having acknowledged that because she is an anomaly her very existence is ambiguous, she is able to discern what behaviors are most appropriate to the situations in which she finds herself. She is able to decipher, according to her own system of values, which battles to pick, which behavioral strategies to try (e.g., accommodation or confrontation). This she is able to do because she essentially depersonalizes her situation and deromanticizes the choices available to her: she is a given woman in a given situation who must do as she must do, not what others want her to do. Her sense of her situation enables her to see that each experience she undergoes as an American woman is often "shared, political and unnecessary" (Rich, 1978, p. 38). With enough confidence to know what she wants, she is in little danger of passively letting others do her "getting" for her.

Coupled with a tolerance for ambiguity, the Outsider also retains a "freedom from unreal loyalties," that "freedom from interested motives" that so bends the Insider to the "intellectual servitude" of the Inside. Because the Outsider recognizes and accepts that she is of "a different sex, a different tradition, a different education, and the different values which result from those differences," she is in an intellectually enviable position: she can with disinterest critique a system which she maintains but does not uphold. She is relieved of the burden of constantly justifying loyalties she does not feel and cannot share. She becomes, in other words, her own woman, not the mirror of men's thoughts about her. She is free to refuse to choose between being loyal to herself and other women and being loyal to stereotypes of womanhood. She is free to walk a tightrope of her own choosing, knowing she is not saddled with the weight of an entire culture's beliefs about the female, the feminine, women, administration. And she is also free to acknowledge that she is an Outsider and Insider simultaneously, at once a "have" and a "have-not."

The characteristics that the Outsider exhibits are complemented by two strategies that she employs: anonymity and secrecy. Woolf contends that the Outsider can only preserve her autonomy and integrity by extinguishing "the coarse glare of advertisement and publicity, not merely because the limelight is apt to be held in incompetent hands, but because of the psychological effects of such illumination upon those who receive it" (p. 118). Such illumination paralyzes a woman's free will and inhibits her power to change by pointing out only the rutted roads, not the untrod by-ways of thought and action. Such illuminations only point out, in the absence of examples of what an Outsider might wish to be, what she has chosen to forego.

Secrecy is, for Woolf, essential to the Society of Outsiders. She bluntly states her case as follows:

> We must still hide what we are doing and thinking even though what we are doing and thinking is for our common cause. The necessity for this, in certain circumstances, is not hard to discover. When salaries are low. . . .and jobs are hard to get and keep, as everybody knows them to be, it is. . . ."rather tactless," as the newspaper puts it, to criticize your master (p. 120).

Fear, then, says Woolf, is a powerful reason; as women are still economically dependent upon the good will of the "master," they have ample reason to conceal what they are doing and thinking.

Woolf is as practical as she is a visionary theorist: she offers means and ends to the would-be members of her Society. She stresses strategies that sadly reflect a pragmatic recognition of the status of women, however well-educated, however well-placed. She stresses characteristics that insure survival, not martyrdom, and she offers a paradigm of values that is radical precisely because it is possible.

But what does a paradigm offered by a British woman writer during the 30s have to say to an American woman administrator in the 80s? Some of the features of the Society have obvious contemporary parallels. For example, the advantage of networking is being recognized. (It is as if women administrators now understand that Benjamin Franklin's exhortation applies as much to them as the Founding Fathers, "We shall have to hang together,

gentlemen, or by God, we shall surely hang separately.") The need for secrecy, or at least caution, is also not lost on the academic woman.

What is most transformative about Woolf's paradigm, however, has been neither accepted nor implemented: the recognition that women, educated and professional women, can be loyal to both themselves and their institutions by coming together as a special interest group to exercise (first in secret, then more boldly) their personal and collective power. Woolf's perception, that women are not the passive simps of history, but frightened accomplices in oppressive social arrangements and institutions, is essentially an "illumination" of the potential strength of women coming and working together to create and to change.

Woolf is not easy on women: she urges them to be free, never an easy thing for a member of any minority group. Further, she urges women to take their freedom, albeit slowly and secretly, and not wait until it is given to them. But again and most importantly, she maintains that freedom and self-identify are synonymous; that a woman administrator must define herself and her position (alone and in concert with her female peers), like the woman doctor, lawyer, or shamaness.

So now what does the Society of Outsiders reveal to the woman administrator? That she *is* and always will be an Outsider; that she must see herself as an Outsider all the while she functions as an Insider; that she must develop bonds with other Outsiders, rather than curry favor from the Insiders, if she is to do anything more than survive at the whim of the "masters"; that she must transfer the cunning perceptions she has developed in personal relationships outward, into the public arena; that she must constantly question the reality of her loyalties; that she must be, in what a contemporary woman poet has described as "the tragedy of sex" (Rich, 1978, p. 26), what can only be called a sneak guerilla.

A proud, sly, and secretive fighter for changes to benefit herself, other women, and potentially all men, a woman administrator who takes out membership in the Society of Outsiders might be the prototype of all administrators in the future: compassionate yet thoughtful; loving yet just. And if, it is finally proposed, enough women took out membership in the Society, the administrator as Outsider would not be the prototype, the exception: she would be the norm.

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Upward Mobility for Women Administrators

Adrian Tinsley

This address was presented at the 1985 Annual Conference of the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors, April 11, 1985, in Milwaukee.

I am very pleased to have been asked to address NAWDAC members on the subject of upward mobility for women administrators. NAWDAC not only has a distinguished history as the only professional association for women deans, administrators and counselors, it has the liveliest current programming I know on issues related to the professional advancement of women and minority women. In fact it is the only professional association to have opened significant dialogue between the majority and minority women on the professional issues that unite and divide us. I am honored to have been asked to speak.

As you know, I edited a book last year, along with Cynthia Secor, who directs HERS Mid-America and the HERS/Bryn Mawr Summer Institute for Women in Higher Education Administration, and Sheila Kaplan, my colleague and boss in Academic Affairs in Minnesota's State University System. Marylu McEwan asked me to talk with you about what we learned in the course of preparing this book, *Women in Higher Education Administration*, and, specifically, to talk about the past decade of work to improve the status of women in our profession.

I assume that all of you here in this audience are here because you are interested in the current status of women professionals. Moreover, I assume that many of you have made a personal decision to seek advancement in higher education administration. From everything that might be said on this broad subject, I have tried to select the forty minutes of comments that will be most useful. I want to give you, in this order, some history (of the national projects focused on advancing women in higher education administration), some reality (the present status of women in our profession in the mid-eighties), some analysis, some advice, and some cautionary statements. Although Jossey-Bass publishes only upbeat manuscripts, this will not be an entirely upbeat speech—but I hope it will be an honest one, and I hope it will be helpful.

History

In 1970, the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation began to focus resources on the problem created by the underrepresentation of women in higher education leadership positions. From 1970 to 1980, Ford and Carnegie, together with smaller foundations like Danforth and Donner and the Lilly Endowment, provided more than three million dollars to support projects designed to promote administrative advancement. This is a conservative

figure based on projects directed specifically at administrative advancement. For example, the Association of American Colleges Project on the Status and Education of women, which received one million dollars, is not included. Neither are grants made by the federal government, such as FIPSE'S grant to underwrite the New England Administrative Skills Program.

According to Alison Bernstein, former Program Officer at FIPSE and now with the Ford Foundation, foundation funding had two major purposes. One was to increase the ranks of women and minority professional workers in America. In this context, efforts to improve opportunities in higher education were like projects, for example, to increase the number of women attorneys or the number of minority engineers. A second purpose was to improve the leadership of higher education. Foundation officers believed that the experience and expertise of women and minorities would increase institutional vitality and bring new vision. Clearly, the success of legal affirmative action requirements would depend on voluntary efforts to increase the pool of women and minority candidates. The foundations therefore set out to "prime the pump" (as the practice came to be called) with projects designed to identify qualified women who were ready to assume positions of increased responsibility, to provide preparation and training for advancement, and to establish networks to refer and promote women for jobs.

The major project to use an identification and promotion strategy is the American Council on Education's National Identification Program (ACE/NIP), which was established in 1977 and now operates in every state. The NIP strategy is based on the premise that many qualified women are ready to assume senior positions—deanships, vice presidencies, and presidencies. The task is to identify these women and to enhance their visibility by putting them in touch with networks of senior women and men who are committed to recommending, sponsoring, and hiring women.

To accomplish this task, the Office of Women at ACE has created an extensive series of interdependent and interlocking networks. More than 6,000 women and men administrators have been involved. In effect, a new voluntary association has been created to focus attention on the advancement of women in higher education administration.

Each state has a State Coordinator and a State Planning Committee composed of 10 to 15 women administrators representing all systems of higher education in the state. More than 800 women have served on these planning committees, which hold regular meetings, organize conferences on higher education issues, and serve as talent scouts, identifying and promoting their most talented members. Once an individual has been identified, she can be invited to participate in a national forum, where she can interact and discuss issues in higher education with a team of male and female national leaders. ACE/NIP also operates a program for minority women administrators and has sponsored national/regional forums to deal specifically with issues for minority administrators.

The National Identification Project's funding has come from the American Council on Education and from more than $600,000 in large grants from the Carnegie Corporation and smaller grants from other private and public sources. The program continues to be strikingly effective at nurturing and tending the networks it has created and at giving recognition and visibility to identified women leaders.

Programs to prepare women for increasingly greater administrative responsibility are a second major strategy. In 1970, the Ford Foundation made a grant to support the recruitment of women administrators into the summer training program for senior administrators conducted by the Institute for Educational Management (IEM) at Harvard. Sixty-two women administrators were recruited between 1970 and 1974. With their more numerous male counterparts, women received training in such subjects as accounting, finance, management information systems, governance, fund raising, endowment management, and government relations.

In 1973, Ford and Carnegie made grants to the University of Michigan to establish the first Institute for the Administrative Advancement of Academic Women. As the name suggests, the Institute was designed

for women only, and it provided training for junior faculty women in topics such as collective bargaining, the legal problems of universities, and personnel management.

Experience with these two programs led in 1976 to the development of the HERS/Bryn Mawr College Summer Institute for Women in Higher Education Administration, which began with a grant from the Donner Foundation, and in 1977, to the Wellesley College administrative skills program, begun with a grant from FIPSE.

These last two programs—both now self-supporting—remain state-of-the-art responses to the special needs of women who seek advancement in a male field. They are based on three assumptions: first, that women who wish to advance in higher education administration need expertise in managing the administrative and governance structures peculiar to higher education; second, that careers in higher education unfold in institutions that have relatively rigid norms and traditions, and that the more fully a woman understands her institution's agendas, organizational structures and political processes, the likelier it is that she will achieve; and third, that women need to pay conscious attention to planning and managing a career in institutions where for the most part they have been either invisible or unnaturally visible by virtue of their token status.

At their best and most ambitious, the month-long residential program at Bryn Mawr and the week-end program at Wellesley encourage participants to think beyond themselves, their departments, and their institutions, and to examine the broad social and economic issues American higher education must grapple with. They require every woman who participates to seriously examine her career goals, the barriers she faces, and the resources she can bring to bear. When the Summer Institute at Bryn Mawr completes its tenth summer this July, more than 800 women will have been through the program. More than 500 women have been through the Wellesley Program in its nine years. The result in almost every case is raised aspirations and increased energy for pursuing a career.

The projects I am describing work in extrainstitutional settings. That is, they do not promote the appointment of women and minority administrators on a single campus. Rather, they are activities or programs with a national, regional, or statewide approach. Their focus is due in part to foundation interest in funding high-visibility efforts. But only in part. The truth is, it is easier to foster change in off-campus settings than it is to attack the issue of advancement in a particular college or university setting. The national projects described here work to identify promising women and to provide networks and opportunities for training and support because it is very difficult to work directly on the real issue: the issue that it feels like a risk to hire a leader who is different from yourself.

Women are far more likely to be assistants to, assistants, or associates than they are to be directors, deans, vice presidents, provosts, or presidents. Women are more likely to be staff than line. In college and university administration, the three positions most often held by women and by minorities are registrar, librarian, and director of financial aid. Research also tells us that most women administrators do "women's work" in higher education administration.

Reality

In 1981, Kay Moore began the first major national study of career paths in higher education administration. Of the sample of 2,896 administrators in 55 positions in her "Leaders in Transition" project, 577—20 percent of the total—were women. Eight percent of the total were black women, 4.8 percent of the total were black men.

The problem with these numbers is that—as we know and as the research confirms—higher education has a pyramidal structure and women are clustered at the bottom of the pyramid. Women are far more likely to be assistants to, assistants, or associates than they are to be directors, deans, vice presidents, provosts, or presidents. Women are more likely to be staff than line. In college and university administration, the three positions most often held by women and by minorities are registrar, librarian, and director of financial aid. Research also tells us that most women administrators do "women's work" in higher education administration. Women hold the positions in continuing education programs that focus on women or reentry women. Women run the programs that deal with women or minorities as a special constituency, such as women's studies programs, women's resource centers, developmental skills centers, and special advising centers. Women serve as deans of professional programs in which students are primarily women, such as nursing, home economics, and social work programs. They do not serve as deans of business, engineering, or technology. Women, in short, are "clustered" or "tracked" within the structure of employment in our profession.

This does not mean that we have made no gains in the past few years; we certainly have, as a major new study by Judy Touchton and Donna Shavlik of the Office of Women in Higher Education at ACE shows. Touchton and Shavlik examined, with Ford Foundation funding, the situation of senior women administrators in 1975 and in 1983. "Senior positions" were defined as provosts, vice presidents, deans, and chief officers in each of the major administrative areas (Academic Affairs, Administrative Affairs, External Affairs, and Student Affairs). Data on women presidents are collected separately.

Here are some highlights from their preliminary study. In 1975 there were 1,625 senior women administrators throughout all accredited institutions of higher education (N = 3,689), an average of .6 per institution. By 1983, the total number had risen to 3,084, an average of 1.1 per institution (N = 3,824). That is to say, the total number of senior women administrators increased by 90 percent in the eight-year period.

In both 1975 and 1983, the greatest number of senior women administrators held positions in academic affairs, followed by student affairs. The proportion of women serving as chief academic officers held steady over the eight-year time frame, but the number of women in academic dean and director positions rose, indicating additional women in the academic affairs pipeline—or additional dean and director positions. The number of women holding top positions in student affairs rose slightly, but women's share of the total positions in student affairs dropped—down to 18 percent.

There has been some shift in the distribution of senior women across the various types of institutions. Although liberal arts colleges still employed more women in 1983 than any other type of institution, there was significant growth in the number employed in professional schools, two-year institutions, and doctorate-granting institutions. The number of women appointed to positions in public institutions grew at a faster rate, so that by 1983, senior women in the public sector slightly out numbered those in the private sector. But the number of women in the two sectors are, at the moment, very close to equal (1,557 in the publics, 1,527 in the privates), and the public sector, of course, is significantly bigger.

In both 1975 and 1983, the largest proportion of women administrators was in small institutions, though the greatest gain in numbers over the eight-year period was made in the larger institutions. Not surprisingly, women's colleges are still employing more senior women administrators than coeducational institutions. In 1975, women's colleges employed 2.4 senior women per institution; in 1983, that figure rose to 3.3 per institution. In coeducational institutions, the number of senior women appointed more than doubled between 1975 and 1983, but by the end of the eight-year period, there was still only .9 senior women per institution.

What effect, then, has a decade or more of efforts to create opportunity had on number and distribution of women in leadership positions in American colleges

and universities? Overall, the trends are in a good direction—we are now up to about one senior woman per institution.

Those of us who have worked for equity have worked incrementally within existing structures to challenge conventional values and prejudices. But I believe we have significantly underestimated the degree of organizational and cultural resistance to any kind of real change.

Senior women did make gains in all the positions examined and made the most gains in types of institutions where they have been least well represented. With regard to presidential appointments, in 1975 there were 148 women presidents; in 1983 there were 254, a gain of 106. Women's share of all CEO positions rose from 5 percent to 9 percent in this period, with the greatest gains, though not the greatest number of presidential appointments, in the public sector.

But even though the trends are in a good direction, the structure of employment in higher education administration has proved over the past decade remarkably resistant to change. Those of us who have worked for equity have worked incrementally within existing structures to challenge conventional values and prejudices. But I believe we have significantly underestimated the degree of organizational and cultural resistance to any kind of real change.

The search committee is a very good organizational example of our mixed success. In spite of efforts to include women and minorities as search committee members, and in spite of conscientious attention to affirmative action requirements, search committees continue to need pressure from the chief executive to come up with women and minority candidates.

Most of the members of search committees, male and female, are free of overt sexism, so why is this the case? Because people who work in an organization, faculty as well as administrators, are often very concerned about the ability of a woman candidate to "fit in." Will she work as a member of the team? Can she relate to the male political structure in the community and the region? Can she associate with the local service clubs? Does she like sports and can she raise money for the football team? Will she be able to work with members of the Board of Trustees? Can she relate to local political leaders? None of these questions or concerns relates directly to the vision and the managerial skills necessary to function effectively as a senior administrative officer. They do, however, reflect the desire of colleges and universities to be led by individuals who share the organization's values and who can relate to the institution's political, economic, and social realities. To repeat, it feels like a risk to hire a leader for your institution who is different from yourself.

Analysis

What have we learned, then, in the past ten years, about how to move women along, out of tracks, out of dead-end positions, and into senior management? I think we have learned three things.

First, there is absolutely no substitute for the commitment and active involvement of chief executive officers and governing boards. Search procedures can be changed, communications networks established, and professional development programs implemented, but only when those in positions of authority actually make the appointments will the number of women and minorities in administrative positions increase.

Chief executive officers and governing boards must make affirmative action and the advancement of women and minorities a publicly stated personal and institutional commitment. This means that control of search processes has to be reclaimed by boards, chief executive officers, and other appointing authorities. Garry Hays, former chancellor of the Minnesota State University System, said this in 1976. His advice is

just as important today and just as costly to follow. The CEO has to insist that qualified women and minorities will be interviewed and evaluated by the search committee or the search will be aborted. The CEO must be willing to go against the search committee to appoint a woman or minority candidate if necessary. To do so takes personal courage and a commitment to spend political capital on women and minorities, which in my experience is quite rare. In addition, the CEO must make recruiting and employment of women and minorities a job requirement for subordinates, and successful accomplishment of this goal must be an important component of salary evaluation and performance review.

Here are some other actions CEO's and senior managers can helpfully take:

They can make themselves aware of the different career paths of men and women administrators in higher education administration, and particularly the tracking of women administrators which I have described. They can devise ways to remove the gender-linked barriers on their own campuses.

They can encourage and support women's and minority advocacy groups on campus and, when appropriate, incorporate their ideas into institutional policy and practice.

They can encourage the mentoring of promising women and minorities and be prepared to demonstrate the personal willingness to sponsor and advance someone quite different from themselves.

They can educate members of their boards of trustees to the importance of affirmative action to the health and vitality of the institutions they govern and seek board support and assistance in the advancement of women and minorities.

The **second** thing we know for sure is that women must also make a commitment to advancement. We must have the appropriate credentials, must understand the organizational structures and political processes of our institutions, and must be willing to take risks.

When women who attend the HERS/Bryn Mawr Summer Institute are asked to name the obstacles that they are aware of in pursuing their careers, they list them in this order: lack of experience, lack of education, personal and family responsibilities, and lack of mobility. I am not inclined to dismiss the statements that women themselves make about the perceived obstacles. Educational credentialing, for example, is a real issue. The doctoral degree remains extremely important for advancement in higher education administration, yet less than one third of all women administrators hold it, compared with more than half of the male administrators. Women seeking top positions should realize that 80 percent of all presidents and provosts hold the doctorate and that 90 percent of the women in such positions have it.

Issues related to mobility and personal and family responsibilities are also real. Senior administrators are peripatetic; they must be prepared to move themselves and their families to a new location if they wish to advance professionally.

And Mary Ann Sagaria's new data indicate that women have had to be even more peripatetic than men. That is to say, women have tended to build their careers by moving *between* institutions (as opposed to *within* institutions) more frequently than men.

For the most part, women still have to choose in a way men do not have to between family and career. Kay Moore's data indicate that in 1981, twice as many male administrators as female administrators were married and living with their spouses (88 percent males versus 44 percent females). Forty percent of the wives of

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male administrators were homemakers, with the next two largest occupational categories being K-12 teachers and counselors and clerical occupations. The largest occupational categories for the husbands of female administrators were (in this order) business and management, professional employment (lawyers, psychologists, journalists), and college teaching. The mobility issues for these two kinds of families are simply not comparable, nor are the personal sacrifices unmarried women make when they disrupt relationships and personal support groups to move to another part of the country. It is important to say in public that a woman's decision to seek a senior position is made in the context of personal values and obligations as well as in the context of professional goals and ambitions, and that the personal cost is often very high.

The third thing we know for sure is that extrainstitutional projects—those with a national or state-wide focus—are necessary but not sufficient to open up opportunities for women and minorities on an individual campus. Women and minority faculty and administrators, no matter how few in number, overworked or isolated, have got to work to make the campus hospitable. Women's caucuses and professional associations and coalitions of women and minorities around issues of concern to both were an important feature of college and university life in the 1970s. While they still exist on most of our campuses in the mid-1980s, it is not clear to me that they are healthy and still providing the following essential elements of support:

Continuous monitoring of the "bread and butter" issues for women and minority professionals—hiring practices, numbers hired, compensation, promotion and tenure.

Proessional support, professional development, and networking.

An environment in which people can teach one another how the institution works and how to seek policy changes.

Continuous pressure for curriculum and services responsive to the needs of women and minority students.

Practical answers to the question, "How do we change the university without destroying our ability to work in the university?"

Concerns for the Future

As I look ahead to the end of the decade, I see four issues emerging that people who care about equity must recognize and address.

First, the economic, political and legal climate in the United States has significantly changed in the first half of the 1980s. The "spirit of the times" is less favorable to women and minorities than it was in the recent past. A change in the *zeitgeist* does not necessarily change the hearts of individual people as they live through the times, but it certainly has an impact on what people believe it is expedient or even possible to do.

Clark Kerr, for example, recently made the statement that the federal era in higher education has "clearly ended." He said that responsibility for higher education was shifting from the federal government to the states, not only because of the Reagan administration's educational policies, but because of the economic effects of federal budget deficits, the national debt, and planned new weapons systems. He said, in fact, that he expected a thirty-year period of state initiatives because "it will be a long time before the federal government has dug itself out of debt and paid for weapons systems." The diminished federal role in higher education in general and in affirmative action in particular relates to the change in climate I am talking about.

From an institutional perspective, the climate in our country no longer seems to me to reward risk taking. I indicated earlier that hiring someone who is not part of the dominant culture (not a white male) is a risk. Will that person share the organization's values? Can that person gain sufficient credibility in the male culture to secure the resources the organization needs to survive? In the recent past, the climate in our country has supported boards and chief executive officers who desired to take these risks. I believe the climate is colder now. And the chilly climate (with a nod to Bunny Sandler's work) affects not only boards, chief executive officers, and search

committees, it affects us, the women and minority persons who live in it, sometimes consciously, sometimes insidiously. I begin to sense lowered professional expectations among my colleagues and friends, and a shift of interest from the professional arena into realms where one has more control—entrepreneurial enterprises, family relationships, and spiritual life.

The **second** issue I want to mention relates to money and to funding sources. The development, testing, and dissemination of strategies to help women and minorities advance costs money. It should be clear that support from the government and from private foundations underwrote the networking, mentoring, and training programs of the past decade. That funding has diminished or disappeared. Programs that have been unable to become self-supporting have had to scale back their activities, and their visibility has declined. The issue of where money to support a new generation of strategies and programs will come from is crucial and has to be addressed.

Third, a great deal of research in the past few years has focused on women in management. While such research is interesting in itself, it does not easily yield information that can be used to shape institutional policies and practices that support the advancement of women and minorities. From researchers like Mary Ann Sagaria and Kay Moore, we are beginning to get better information on the career paths of women and men, both majority and minority, in different types of institutions and in different regions of the country. Much more information on career path development could be gathered by individual institutions as part of their routine information gathering if there were national agreement on the factors to be studied and on the methodology to be used. I would like to see this issue become part of ACE's agenda.

Fourth, and perhaps most important, the gains made by women and minorities owe much to a small, hard-working, dedicated, and driven group of leaders and advocates who have made our mutual cause their own. Enormous amounts of creative energy and talent have been invested, often with meager financial rewards. Many of these individuals have moved on to other stages in their careers. Thus, it is imperative that a new generation of leaders emerge. It is not clear, however, where they will come from. This is an issue we should challenge NAWDAC, the most relevant professional association, to address. I would like to see this issue become part of NAWDAC's agenda.

The advances that women and minorities have made in higher education in the past decade have come slowly, painfully, and grudgingly.

Conclusion

Everyone in this room is aware that the advances that women and minorities have made in higher education in the past decade have come slowly, painfully, and grudgingly. They are fragile, and they can be easily eroded or erased. In conclusion, I want to reiterate two points that have come to seem to me the most important as I have worked on the preparation of this talk.

First, I want to reemphasize the changed economic, political and legal climate of the first half of the 1980s and the resulting change in the agenda of American colleges and universities. In the 1970s, colleges and universities were the social institutions on the leading edge of this country's commitment to equity. The dominant national ideology supported our efforts to provide *access* to higher education for new students not previously served and *equity* for women and minority faculty and administrators. The national projects I have talked about were developed in the 1970s and were responsive to that particular set of historical circumstances. In the first half of the 1980s, colleges and universities are not focused on access and equity. They are focused on "quality" (with all of the positive and negative connotations that word implies), on science and technology, and on developing partnerships with business and industry which permit them to play a significant role in the economic development of their service regions. In my judgment,

the academic women's movement has not yet responded proactively to the changed higher education agenda. I think we have not yet even analyzed the implications of this new agenda for the groups we care about. Our movement has a desperate need for intellectual leadership right now. There is no reason we cannot thrive in the changed climate. For example, given the size of the science and technology sector, the actual number of women in these fields is much larger than the number in the humanities—but the advancement patterns for women in science and technology are cruel. To repeat, we have not reconceptualized our movement and our strategies in response to the changed situation. There is a paucity of new ideas. Intellectual leadership is what we need most right now.

Second, I want to reemphasize the need for reinvigoration of our caucuses, coalitions, and networks on campus. I believe that most on-campus networks are in disarray, and no wonder. In the changed economic and political climate, it seems even riskier than it did in the 1970s to affiliate around issues of access and equity. It seems too risky. I fear it is becoming easier to believe that opportunity and advancement are perhaps a matter of individual merit after all. Even worse, it is becoming easier to believe that opportunity and advancement are perhaps not so important after all. These attitudes are understandable, but they have predictable consequences. There will be no opportunity or advancement for any of us, unless we work together to keep the pressure on. I think each of us needs to re-examine her own relation to women's and minority issues on her own campus in this context.

Those of us here in this room are faced with a very big task. The programs of the last decade must be carefully evaluated and safely institutionalized. A new generation of leaders must be identified. New agendas must be prepared. Funds for new programs must be found. I am afraid we may be in this for the long haul.

We know from experience that the best-managed institutions—those most creative, dynamic and responsive to change—are the ones most open to the advancement of women and minorities. The rigid institutions are the ones that do not use us. They are wasting enormous vision and potential.

Why should we accept this task? First, for ourselves. Like the men we work with, we need and deserve the pleasure of exercising our talents in an institutional context, of seeing our skills and competencies develop, of performing well. Each of us, irrespective of gender, has the right to participate in the leadership and management of higher education, the right to have our expertise and wisdom guide our institutions and our profession. Second, for our colleges and universities. We know from experience that the best-managed institutions—those most creative, dynamic and responsive to change—are the ones most open to the advancement of women and minorities. The rigid institutions are the ones that do not use us. They are wasting enormous vision and potential. And lastly, beyond ourselves, and beyond our institutions, we have a special obligation to assist the younger people in our profession, the ones who are coming along. The social and political climate that feels less than hospitable to those of us who have already achieved some professional success—how does it feel to those who are just beginning to aspire to public life?

Faced with this large task and with so much yet to be done, we must retain our commitment both to the importance of the task and to the possibility of accomplishing it. We really have no choice.

Do Chloe and Olivia Have a Future? A Proposal for Feminist Pedagogy and Peer Relations

A. Harriette Andreadis

Since the "second wave" of feminism of the seventies, many of us have subscribed to the illusion that women's relations to each other in professional life have changed. In fact, the male competitive model continues to inhibit supportive relations between women. Competition destroys perceptions of each others' availability for bonding, unless there is some disparity in rank or workplace. The dilemma of isolation and failure to bond in situations where it is important to do so can be resolved only if we undermine the structure of rivalrous relations by "co-mentoring" other women (in consciously nonhierarchical and mutual relations) in such a way as to erode the present competitive model for professional relations. Co-mentoring is a way of closing the gap between feminists and nonfeminists, of offering friendship and support without an ideological price tag, and of providing a context in which to ask and begin to answer some of the questions which might contain the answers to our collective future.

Plumbers do not identify their lot with other plumbers. They dream that they will someday become foremen, managers, or even owners of the company. Only too late do many realize that they always have been and always will be plumbers. In the same way, many women think that someday they will grow up to be men, that because they are eminently well-qualified (may even "think like a man") they will be rewarded. Only too late do they begin to recognize how tokenism operates and to realize that their lot is indeed with other women.

Since the "second wave" of feminism of the seventies, many of us have subscribed to the illusion that women's relations to each other in professional life have changed. In fact, the male competitive model continues to inhibit supportive relations between women. While women's relationships at the inter-university level are frequently nurturing, and while there are supportive national or regional networks of professional women, within institutions or departments there often continues to be a failure to achieve primary bonding.

My own experience of the tension between women at several different institutions in disparate regions of the country is typical. In one instance, a young woman, a new PhD , was brought into an English Department to relieve an older woman, an associate professor, of the every-term teaching of a graduate seminar. Instead of welcoming the newcomer and being glad to work with another woman in her field, the established woman was threatened, and used her connections with the men who controlled the department to have the younger woman let go. In another instance, a single woman (gay and closeted) in her

mid-thirties felt isolated in a largely all-male department; the arrival of another woman her age, single though not gay, raised her hopes for camaraderie. The new woman rebuffed the first woman's gestures of friendship because she viewed her as a competitor for male approval and the rewards (promotion, raises, etc.) it would confer on only one or two token women. These are examples of what I call the "self-designated token" syndrome, a product of the male bureaucratic monster.

At a large, nonurban university (like my own) which has only recently begun to bring in women in the lower ranks, these self-designated token women fall into two groups, both motivated by fear. The first group I call "lip service feminists"; they subscribe to the bourgeois concerns of equal pay for equal work, but they find any assertion of "feminist," as opposed to "professional," ideas threatening and unacceptable. These women have successfully internalized a male defensive posture. It may be that "feminist" also means "lesbian" to them, and that they are crypto-homophobes. The second group I call "carpetbaggers," those whose work is fashionably concerned with women (i.e. images of women in men's literature). These women do not necessarily think from a feminist perspective and do not identify themselves as feminist. Often, their stance, nonthreatening to men, helps them carve out a place in a department which has few women and which needs someone to offer a course in women in order to capitalize on a modest student interest. What is hopeful about this second group is that teaching courses and doing research on women may awaken them to the need to bond more openly with other women on campus.

In all these instances of women's failure to bond with each other, we see their failure to trust each other's support and good will; we see their deference to male authority and the established system of hierarchy; and we see their perpetuation of the system of tokenism. The barriers to feminist bonding appear to be pragmatic: salary, promotion, tenure. But, as my examples have shown, these are subsumed under a fundamentally emotional/ideological barrier: fear of the power of male hierarchy and acceptance of the male competitive model (also the Calvinist American model) for success.

Competition destroys perceptions of each other's availability for bonding, unless there is some disparity in rank or workplace. The bonding which most commonly occurs is that of role-modeling. Frequently a female student will seek out a female professor to work with. This working relationship will often produce a personal as well as a professional friendship. Similarly, administrative women may seek out faculty women, and vice versa, for supportive friendships. For example, six years ago a woman dean, the most highly placed woman administrator in my university, felt very isolated in the all-male hierarchy. She was supportive to me and to a small core of feminist faculty and graduate student women and was especially helpful in educating us in the ways of the administration. We, in turn, helped her feel less isolated. She was in a position to encourage the feminism of undergraduate women and to provide emergency counselling to them. Her effectiveness among faculty and students was clearly based on her hierarchically conferred authority and on the crucial fact that the bonding she effected was *across* ranks and situations, and was possible only *because* of those disparities. No one felt threatened. Unfortunately, her influence did not create peer bonds among the women with whom she had formed bonds. In her absence, there was, is, little feminist solidarity. The feminist bonds created were along the vertical lines of authority established by the male hierarchy rather than the horizontal lines necessary for feminist commitment.

This dilemma of isolation and failure to bond in situations where it is important to do so can be resolved only if we undermine the structure of rivalrous relations by mentoring other women in such a way as to erode the present competitive model for professional relations. "Mentoring" is a traditional student/teacher relation in which ideals of learning and professional behavior are transmitted from one academic generation to the next. Because "mentoring" may suggest an authoritarian

model to some, I have coined "co-mentoring" to indicate the nonhierarchical and mutual nature of the relationships I envision.

The co-mentor may be placed, academically, in a junior or senior position to the co-mentoree and vice versa. Both women learn from the process of co-mentoring, and from each other. Feminist co-mentoring may be defined as the transforming of women's ideals about their goals and about how they will allow themselves to achieve those goals. It involves, first, a high consciousness of feminist ideals and, second, the transformation of women's ideals about their career goals and an understanding of how to succeed in the system without bartering one's feminist integrity. Co-mentoring concerns the politics of creating solidarity among women otherwise pitted against each other in a competitive environment.

Co-mentoring concerns the politics of creating solidarity among women otherwise pitted against each other in a competitive environment.

Most important is the strategy of women working with women in their immediate environments. It is not sufficient to pay lip service to this strategy by meeting with women in our classes and reading papers at conventions. Only a workplace in which women work together in a daily give-and-take can create the kind of bonding which might eventually succeed in changing the quality of our professional lives. This is difficult to achieve among peers in an academic setting, since our PhD training has taught most of us to adapt ourselves to male strategies for survival and hence to male patterns of independent research. And the bureaucracy often places unexpected barriers in the way of women working together. One of two women in my department who are working together on a book was told by our promotions and tenure committee that her co-authorship would not "count" as a book on her vita and in her evaluation for tenure. This served to some extent to radicalize her and to make other women aware of the sorts of regressive treatment they might expect. If more of us presented a challenge to barriers of this kind, it might be more difficult for them to sustain their force. Women working on projects together need to be visible to other women, both faculty and students. Women need to see by example that women working together can do so successfully, that women do not need to bring with them into the workplace their celebrated mythological antagonisms, that Chloe and Olivia do often like each other enough to write books, research articles, share offices, go to lunch, plan conferences and meetings, ask the bureaucracy for changes, *together*.

Co-mentoring is a way of closing the gap between feminists and nonfeminists, of offering friendship and support without an ideological price tag. We must seek to learn the psychic and emotional language of nonfeminist women so that we can learn to communicate with them and to co-mentor them. In order to awaken them to our assumptions, we need to have a clearer sense of theirs, especially when their race or culture differs from ours. We must not allow ourselves to be put off by the superficialities of style and expression: these often disguise allies rather than reveal enemies. My experience in Texas has taught me that what I used to perceive as the sickly deference of southern womanhood often hides a sleeping radical feminist. We must assume that women who may appear to be non- (or anti-) feminist are in fact pre-feminist and that we speak a common language, though we may not yet use a common syntax.

We must begin to ask some of the questions which might contain the answers to our collective future: What issues can be used to bring women together in a genuinely feminist bonding? What common intellectual, professional, and teaching needs can create solidarity? And we must begin to seek the answers to these questions within the contexts of those co-mentoring relationships which have been given us by the male hierarchy and which many of us have been cultivating for a long time: co-mentoring among peers, faculty and administrative staff women; co-mentoring

students, graduate and undergraduate, in women's studies as well as in regular curricula. The transformation of consciousness, ideals, and workplace which I have been describing needs to be carried on for generations if it is to be at all meaningful.

This essay was first presented at a session of the Modern Language Association meeting in New York in December 1981. The title refers to *A Room of One's Own* (1929), in which Virginia Woolf introduced the then unusual case of Chloe and Olivia who "shared a laboratory together" as a model of female friendship which is based on concerns beyond the personal and the domestic.

Women Administrators for the 1980s: A New Breed

Sandra Y. Benton

Factors such as discrimination, socialization, sex-role sterotyping, lack of female role models, and the absence of an "old girl" network have been blamed for the shortage of women in higher education administration. A questionnaire was mailed in 1979 to 30 women known to be serving as chancellors, provosts, trustees, presidents, vice presidents, or deans of administration in public community colleges of the United States. Twenty (67%) responded to the survey. A comparison of the data with existing literature about women administrators revealed that, in many ways, women executives in 1979 viewed themselves differently from the minority of women who held comparable positions only a decade ago. The comparison indicated that a "new breed" of women have arisen to assume the responsibilities of public colleges in the 1980s.

Although federal legislation and affirmative action programs have provided incentives for institutions of higher education to hire women administrators, the number of women chief executives in public community colleges remained negligible in 1979. Although many sources were consulted to identify top-level administrative women, including the *Community, Junior, and Technical College Directory* (1978), an unpublished roster by George P. Miller, III, (1978), a publication by the American Council on Education entitled *The Presidents* (1978), and the personal roster of an employee of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (Castillo, 1979), only 30 names of women holding executive positions were found.

A review of relevant literature revealed that many factors such as discrimination, socialization, sex-role stereotyping, lack of female role models, and the absence of an "Old Girl" network receive the blame for the shortage of women in higher education administration. Yet, the same body of literature did not attempt to hypothesize why a small number of women have succeeded in acquiring top-level administrative positions in public community colleges. To fill the vacuum created by the lack of hypotheses concerning the factors which may have promoted or hindered the selection of women to executive positions, the top-level women administrators were asked to participate in a 1979 research study. The purpose of the study was twofold: (1) to identify factors which contributed to the selection of top-level women administrators in the public community colleges in the United States; and (2) to generate hypotheses concerning the upward mobility of professional women.

A questionnaire was devised which solicited personal data and included open-ended questions addressed to women administrators concerning why they believed they were selected for their positions. The questionnaire was mailed to the 30 women known to be serving as chancellors, provosts, trustees, presidents, vice-presidents, or deans of admin-

istration in the public community colleges of the United States. Twenty women (67 percent) responded to the survey.

Although some of the findings of the study supported existing literature on the topic, many of the results of the research were startling. A comparison of the data gathered during the study with existing data about women administrators revealed that, in many ways, women executives in 1979 viewed themselves differently from the minority of women who held comparable positions only a decade ago. The comparison indicated a "new breed" of women have arisen to assume the responsibilities of public colleges in the 1980s.

Development and Administration of Questionnaire

The development of the questionnaire used in the study was inspired by Herzberg's (1959) patterned interview of job attitudes. As in Herzberg's study, open-ended questions were used to encourage respondents to give detailed responses and to generate qualitative data which could be analyzed for commonalities among the women executives.

The questionnaire, a cassette tape, and accompanying letters which explained the purpose of the study were mailed to the top-level women administrators in the public community colleges in the United States. Since the questions on the instrument were open-ended and could have precipitated extensive answers, respondents were asked to record their responses on the cassette tape. This method of administering the instrument was chosen to allow the researcher the opportunity to report findings through direct quotations whenever desirable.

Analysis of the Data

Responses recorded by the participants on the cassette tapes were transcribed. The data were then analyzed by the *constant comparative method* (Glazer & Strauss, 1971). First, every response to each of the questions on the questionnaire was listed on a separate five by eight inch note card. For example, the formal factors which the women executives believed influenced their selection were listed on one card; the informal factors were listed on a second card; and previous work experience which the respondents believed contributed to their selection was listed on a third card. The first response listed on each card was coded "A." The second response, if dissimilar to the first, was coded "B." All similar responses were coded the same and were considered a "category." Extraneous factors, factors cited by two or fewer respondents, were discarded. Factors cited by 50% or more of the respondents were considered "saturated categories," and were utilized to generate hypotheses which can be tested in future empirical studies. Similar responses of 50% or more of the respondents were considered a saturated category since "generating hypotheses requires evidence enough only to establish a suggestion—not excessive piling up of evidence to establish a proof" (Glaser & Strauss, 1971, pp. 39-40).

Also, in some cases, factors cited by less than 20% of the respondents were the basis of the generation of a hypothesis. For example, only one woman said she was "very active" in the Women's Movement. Therefore, the researcher hypothesized that noninvolvement in the Women's Movement is significantly related to the success of a woman in acquiring a top-level administrative position in a public community college.

All the respondents indicated their motivation and determination to succeed was a significant factor in their selection to a top-level position. Women must come to view themselves as leaders if they are to be promoted to positions of responsibility.

Findings were identified and conclusions were made from the responses to each question on the questionnaire. Next, the findings for each category of responses to the questions on the questionnaire were compared with the findings of all other questions (categories). The comparative analysis of the data, both within and among the categories which emerged from the data, yielded the findings, conclusions, and emerging hypotheses of the study.

Findings Inconsistent with Existing Literature

Analysis of the data acquired in the study yielded some findings which are inconsistent with the literature written about women administrators in the 1960s and 1970s. For example, the executive woman of 1979 was unlike the single, conservative woman with little social life which Hennig (Hennig and Jardim, 1978) found to be typical of the population of her 1970 research. None of the women in Hennig's study married before age 35 and few maintained any long-term relationships with men outside of work. In contrast, 85% of the 1979 women administrators had at one time been married and 50% of the 1979 executives were married at the time of the study. The average age for marriage of the respondents was 24 years old and only one respondent married after age 30. Also, 70% of the women had not only assumed the responsibilities of marriage, but of motherhood as well. One woman was appointed to a top-level administrative position while she was pregnant and one respondent was the mother of seven children.

The body of relevant literature indicated that most married, academic women struggle with an inner conflict between their professional responsibilities and society's traditional stereotype of the "feminine" and "domestic" woman. For example, Montique de Meron-Landolt (1975) personified the role conflicts of the academic woman by describing her as the actor in an interesting version of a parlor game called "puss in the corner." Pretending that a person's life is a room, Landolt construed the following rules:

> Assign one corner to your husband, another to your children, the third to your work, and the last one to the rest of your family and friends. Take your place in the "open space" thus defined. If you manage to keep the whole situation in balance to each party's satisfaction, then you have won. (p. 151)

Likewise, Neuman (1978) stated that "women have resolved their role conflicts in one of two ways—by opting out of the system, either completely or by compromise, or by fighting it" (p. 306). According to Neuman, women can opt out of the system in a number of ways such as leaving the field to assume full family responsibilities, or by accepting job assignments below their capabilities, or by performing a job for less money than a man would be paid for the same job. On the contrary, other women are vehemently fighting this system through legal and political action. Unfortunately, such reform is time consuming, forcing many women to compromise their primary goals (Neuman, 1978).

Yet, the respondents indicated they had been able to resolve their inner conflicts between their domestic and professional responsibilities. Eighty-five percent of the 1979 top-level public community college women administrators had been married at one time during their career. Of those women who had been married, only two women (12%)—a percent much lower than the national average—were divorced at the time of the study. Also, 70% of the women had or were managing to rear children as well. Many of the respondents also stated they were managing to find some time to pursue their own self-interests. Obviously, the 1979 respondents had been able to identify and assign priority to their personal and professional obligations so both their personal lives and their professional careers could flourish.

Although discrimination is often blamed, not only for the small number of women occupying top-level administrative positions, but for salary (Margarrell, 1975) and promotion inequity (No Room,

1977), the 1979 respondents stated discrimination on the basis of sex had not hindered their careers. Only nine of the 20 respondents (45%) had applied unsuccessfully for a previous position. In 46% of the cases, the women administrators believed another candidate was chosen for the job because he or she had better qualifications or more relevant experience.

Similarly, analysis of the data strongly indicated the 1979 women executives had not been allowed into the organization as "tokens" but had been appointed to their positions because of their credentials and administrative experience. Thirteen respondents (65%) had acquired terminal degrees. Six of the women possessing terminal degrees (54%) had majored in educational administration or higher education. All but three respondents were serving in an underlying, supportive administrative position before their promotion to a top-level position and twelve women (60%) had been promoted from an underlying position in the same institution. The majority of the respondents had "worked their way up" the organizational hierarchy through experience acquired at one or more community colleges.

A sizable body of literature exists to support the hypothesis that women who have succeeded to "the top" are "Queen Bees." Staines, Tavris, and Jayaratne (1974) describe a Queen Bee as a woman who has succeeded professionally (as evidenced by a high-status job and a good salary) and socially (as evidenced by popularity with men, attractiveness, and a good marriage). Queen Bees "look like a woman" yet "think like a man" and are able to perform a traditional and a nontraditional role simultaneously but effectively. Ironically, the Queen Bees in higher education are in excellent positions to recruit, support, and recommend other women, but are not inclined to do so. Instead, the Queen Bee prefers to denigrate the efforts of other women and protect her own image of "superwoman."

However, the majority of women surveyed could not be categorized as "Queen Bees." In fact, 67% of the population of the study were willing to take time from their top-level jobs to complete the lengthy questionnaire utilized in the study. All of the respondents indicated they were willing to promote the advancement of women in higher education administration by serving as a role model for prospective women and by actively recruiting and supporting women candidates for administrative positions.

Emily Taylor and Donna Shavlik (1977) stated that most jobs in higher educational institutions are filled by means of "informal networks of faculty, administrators, or other educational leaders who, by initiation or response, recommend promising candidates for positions" (p. 91). Because higher educational institutions have been largely male dominated, so have been the informal networks that developed within them. Consequently, because women have not been able to infiltrate the "Old Boy" network, women candidates lack visibility and are, therefore, rarely suggested for top-level positions. Even those persons who desire and are willing to recommend women are often not aware of and do not know how or where to locate women qualified for job openings.

Similarly, Daniel Socolow (1978) found that the "Old Boy" network remained the most widely utilized method for selecting a job candidate. The data generated by his investigation of six issues of the *Chronicle of Higher Education* published between January 31 and March 7, 1977, suggested that at least 76% of the institutions in the sample advertised nationally and at the same time invoked "Old-Boy" practices. Socolow suggested that many colleges and institutions "go through the motions of searching widely for qualified candidates, while they in fact, rely heavily on familiar recruiting methods" (p. 42).

In contrast, the 1979 women executives indicated they had been able to establish significant relationships with some of the "Old Boys." Seventy percent of the respondents believed their personal relationships with both men and women in the organization, especially those holding

superior positions, was the informal factor having the most influence in their selection to a top-level position. The responses of the women administrators seemed to indicate they had been accepted into or at least recognized by the informal network. All the women expressed a willingness to recommend other women applicants for job vacancies and introduce them to the "Old Boys" whose confidence they had won.

Findings Consistent with Existing Literature

When asked to identify the reasons so few women occupy top-level administrative positions and strategies which would help to increase the number of women executives, the responses of the participants were more consistent with the existing body of relevant literature. As cited in the literature by Hilliard (1975), Tibbetts (1975), Thurston (1975), and others, the 1979 respondents overwhelmingly cited traditional cultural conditioning of men and women to conform to sex-role stereotypes as the primary reason so few women hold administrative positions in public community colleges. According to the respondents, the perpetuation of sex-role stereotyping in the American society has resulted in many women not viewing themselves as potential administrators and men not acknowledging the professional capabilities of women. The 1979 top-level women executives also believed that the lack of administrative and educational preparation, other reasons cited for the small number of women administrators, were a result of society's sex-role stereotyping since women have not sought out administrative opportunities and men have not traditionally offered administrative opportunities to women.

The strategies to increase the number of women administrators cited by the respondents were also consistent with existing literature. As suggested by Taylor and Shavlik (1977), the respondents cited female role models as the most effective strategy to increase the number of women administrators. Although affirmative action programs were cited as an effective strategy by an equal number of respondents, other respondents believed any type of legislative mandate to be the least effective strategy. The next most frequently cited strategy was programs to increase the visibility of qualified and capable women. Similarly, Palmieri and Shakeshaft (1976) suggested that prospective women administrators attend mixed-sex professional conferences, join national organizations, volunteer to serve on committees, and develop positive relationships with colleagues to increase their visibility in professional circles.

The 1979 women administrators did emphasize one strategy to advance women that is not commonly found in existing literature. The respondents stressed the development of a positive self-concept and confidence in one's administrative ability.

All the respondents indicated their motivation and determination to succeed was a significant factor in their selection to a top-level position. Women must come to view themselves as leaders if they are to be promoted to positions of responsibility.

Summary

Obviously, the women who were serving as chief administrators in public community colleges in 1979 have (1) resolved the conflicts between their personal and professional duties, (2) are aware of and have overcome the obstacles which have historically hindered the advancement of women, and (3) are prepared to meet the challenges which 1980 will present, not only for prospective women administrators, but for the community college movement as well.

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Strategies for the "Ascent of Woman" in Higher Education Administration in the 80s

Margaret E. Holt

Although the immediate future does not look promising for the advancement of women in higher education administration, subtle changes are underway. Several recommendations are presented for women who are or hope to become the new professionals in college and university management. Professional and personal relationships, personal development, and management skills considered important for new leaders are discussed.

Unless criteria currently used to select individuals for positions in higher education administration are drastically altered in the near future, participation by women at the top levels of college and university management will not be notable. Since much evidence demonstrates that the organization and management of most higher education institutions is traditional (e.g., little adaptation to varied work designs, moderate adaptation to the educational needs of students over 25 years of age, and minimal acceptance of nontraditional practices such as credit for experiential learning), there is little chance that administrators will be selected according to new criteria. Women who desire administrative positions will generally have to follow the old paths to such careers for at least a decade.

Beyond the eighties, there probably will be some gradual change in organizations as a result of more egalitarian administration and a slow decline of the "maleocracies." At present, most institutions are male-dominated; their patterns of operation often emulate athletic and military models. (Isn't it telling when new employees are welcomed "on board!") Women will gradually infiltrate the management of colleges and universities, but transitions will be subtle, not revolutionary.

If the "good new women's" networks continue to develop, it is likely that women will recognize their opportunities to develop careers with the aid of same-sex role models. Such expectations are not unrealistic, because there are no signs that women will reverse their present interest in participating in higher education and in the labor force. It would be foolish to stereotype women who are attempting to move ahead in academe. It is possible, however, to examine factors that cause people to be "moving" or "stuck" in their careers, to use Yale Sociologist Rosabeth Moss Kanter's words.

Academic administrators must clearly understand the missions of the in-

stitutions they serve. Since colleges and universities nurture scholarship through service, teaching, and research, women who want to administer in such environments must themselves be curious scholars. They must be people of vision who seek and follow world, national, regional, state, and local trends, movements, and forces. They must be voracious readers, ponderers, examiners, screeners, and critics of vast amounts of information. Women who want to move must exhibit a keen interest in the whole university community. They must recognize that although they can never know enough about all units of the larger system, they must avoid clogging their minds with minutia—that it is more efficient and effective to learn where to locate certain types of information than to attempt to store ever-changing and infrequently needed details in one's head.

A sense of humor is imperative for survival in a milieu that is as highly charged as most campuses. People who cannot occasionally relieve pressures by stepping outside a situation and finding some humor in it are likely to be perceived as cold and lacking vitality.

Membership in networks is essential. If a "good new women's" network does not exist, an up-and-coming leader should start one. If the men will accept women into their networks, even partially, wise women will gladly join. Networks give people access to significant information and to opportunities for career advancement. Loners typically do not advance in academe.

Management and leadership are not exercised in a vacuum. Successful administrators promptly learn who the movers and shakers are on the campus and, when appropriate, they move and shake them. A college or university is an organization, and like other types of organizations, the productivity of its employees ranges between those who excel and those who barely "putt" along. A woman who seeks to move ahead needs to align herself with the doers, both to get things accomplished and also to be identified as a doer by significant people inside and outside the institution.

A sense of humor is imperative for survival in a milieu that is as highly charged as most campuses. People who cannot occasionally relieve pressures by stepping outside a situation and finding some humor in it are likely to be perceived as cold and lacking vitality. Interpersonal relationships are strengthened in organizations when people working together see the comic as well as the serious sides of events. A sense of humor is one characteristic of balance in a personality. To recognize and respond to funny situations reflects a sense of joy in one's work.

Women moving in administration need to develop a cooperative spirit, which will in turn enhance their ability to compromise when necessary. Although this is difficult for some people, it is important if one wishes to be viewed as willing to listen to the ideas of others, work on teams, and accept credit for achievements through group membership. Women who seek to be on the move within academic communities must respect people at every level of the university. If they "turn off" people at any level of the system, they can seriously jeopardize their movement up, down, and across the system. Maintenance people, deans, secretaries, vice presidents, and bus drivers are all valuable, essential human resources deserving of respect. A woman who has a negative attitude toward men in hierarchies, who cries "victimization," should not be surprised to find herself excluded from committees and other campus projects. Women who consistently feel and act this way are obviously much more interested in winning small battles than in winning the war. A cooperative attitude does

not eliminate the necessity for assertive behavior. Administrators must be able to say forthrightly what they think and what they want. Neither shy nor aggressive behavior will open doors.

Occasional, sensible risk-taking is another strategy women must employ as leaders. Once in a while, the adoption of the philosophy that it may be easier to ask forgiveness than seek permission is a viable risk-taking tactic. In other words, creative time and energy may be wasted and some goals never accomplished if one always seeks too many levels of permission. Some research has indicated that many women are not risk-takers, yet sensible risk-taking often demonstrates creativity and judgment skills.

Women must master math skills: math anxiety is not befitting an administrator. In addition to their higher purposes, colleges and universities are businesses that operate with budgets. A woman who desires an administrative post must understand budgeting—budget control, regulations, restrictions, and development. Women who do not have knowledge of financial management have three alternatives. They can teach themselves, enroll in formal courses, or ask those who do understand these processes to provide them with some on-the-job training. A combination of these three alternatives would be best.

Time management skills are also essential tools for any professional who has a lot to accomplish in a limited time. There are many seminars and a wealth of literature on time management. Although the need for skill in research and writing varies by position, opportunities expand for individuals who possess such skills. Obviously, skill in public speaking and clarity in written and spoken communications are vital. Although it may have been possible for some women to advance significantly without a terminal degree not too long ago, it is now much more difficult to move up and on without a doctorate. The best strategy for women who want to advance in the academic world is completion of a terminal degree. Because competition among women with doctorates is sure to increase, women who need only to write their dissertations should do so as soon as they can.

Mentors, both male and female, may be the single most important factor in an administrator's career development. Mentors can suggest strategies for career mobility; they are often the toughest and best critics of their protégés. Mentors are people who can open doors, initiate contacts, and make recommendations for new professionals. Female mentors in academic administration are scarce and precious; they can offer firsthand advice about handling the often sensitive situations unique to women. A new professional must seek out and cultivate appropriate mentors.

People who make strides in careers usually have a high energy level. This can be achieved by careful monitoring of one's health, proper exercise, careful diet, and sufficient rest. Regular medical examinations make good sense. A woman on the move in her career is probably physically on the go and may experience a stress-related illness popularly termed "burn out." One of the best strategies to avoid this condition is to allow time for relaxation and leisure. Workaholics, be they male or female, often pay a terrible price for eliminating leisure from their lives.

Most new professional women interested in both career mobility and families find it necessary to employ a reasonable birth control strategy. Careers and families are not mutually exclusive, but there are only a few incredible career women who can manage large families—the Supermoms, so to speak. A majority of women recognize that juggling the demands of several children and a career is draining, and nearly impossible without one or the other being slighted. Women with sizeable financial resources and superior arrangements for child care may find it easy to manage home and office. Most women do not have such

resources and must realize that when they opt for career advancements, they may have to limit family size.

Finally, young professional women who choose marriage along with career mobility discover that a cooperative husband who understands career pressures is a much more desirable mate than one who sees his wife's ambitions as threatening or subordinate to his own.

Although the seventies were not encouraging for women in higher education administration, many observers tell us we must keep the faith, that change is on the way. In 1978, Dr. M. Louise McBee, currently Associate Vice-President for Academic Affairs at the University of Georgia, observed,

> Between 1920 and 1970, more men got PHD's in any one year than there were total women with doctorates. We didn't have women coming through the ranks prepared. They didn't have the passport. We didn't have women with the training to move into upper level administrative positions. Now we have women going through the programs. In the next ten years, we are going to see them in increasing numbers moving into high positions. At one point, Deans of Women offices were the only place women received entry level experience. When Deans of Women offices closed, younger women branched off in admissions' offices, placement offices, and so forth. These people are getting this entry level and middle management experience now. In another ten years we will have a pool of trained women who are not only able and experienced but have confidence that these kind of things are to be expected. They are going to go in with more *hutzpah* than others have who have pioneered the way. It's not so unusual to see women in these positions, and they are going to think "why not?"

Why not?

Women Administrators and Mobility: The Second Struggle

Kathryn M. Moore and Mary Ann D. Sagaria

This research project centered on how many women are actually moving up into higher levels of educational administration. It was based on a survey of women administrators in Pennsylvania. The results suggest a need for the further study of organizational differences that affect the advancement of women.

"The Second Struggle" is an informal title that has been given to women's efforts to move up to positions of leadership and authority in all sections of American society (Wikler, 1978). The second struggle does not presume satisfactory completion of the first struggle, the achievement of equal access and opportunity for women. Rather, it builds on the momentum of the first and adds to it. When women's administrative careers are considered in light of this second struggle, the important questions are: How many women are moving up into higher levels of administration? What are the forces or factors assisting and inhibiting them?

Men have tended to rise to chief executive positions in higher education through a fairly standard career path (Caplow & McGee, 1960; Cohen & March, 1974). After completing a terminal degree and gaining professional experience in a discipline, they achieve tenure and senior status in a department, then move on to be chairman, dean, or provost. Any one or all of the moves may be accompanied by a change of institution. This sequence of experiences constitutes the normative career ladder to top-level positions in academe. Thus, even though individuals may deviate from this model, and even though many more men fit the criteria than are ever chosen for top-level posts, nevertheless this particular career ladder has salience both as a model and as perceived reality. Consequently, it is also the model against which women's careers in academe can and are being measured. In this context, we framed the question for our study: Do the career patterns of top women administrators reflect the traditional career model? That is, do these women exhibit the kinds of career mobility through which men have tended to achieve executive positions?

So often the complaint is heard that there simply aren't qualified women out there, and that if there are, they won't move. Our data indicate otherwise. A fair percentage of women would be willing to move, and in fact are anticipating a move.

The limited research on women's mobility suggests that they are not mobile. For example, Arter (1973) found that women administrators in land-grant and state universities tended to build a career at one institution, and that they took much longer to rise to the top than did their male colleagues. Thus, whether mobility is measured as moves across institutions or within an institution, women appear to be less mobile than men. We wanted to determine if a study of Pennsylvania women would confirm this finding or show that policies of affirmative action implemented after 1971 were having an effect. Since much of the mobility research had been completed before 1971, changes might have taken place.

Procedure

A standardized questionnaire of 24 items was developed and pilot-tested in the fall of 1978. It was designed to secure basic demographic data and to explore aspects of the career patterns of college administrators. The sample of 180 women administrators was selected from the data compiled by the Center for the Study of Higher Education at the Pennsylvania State University and the Pennsylvania Planning Committee for the A.C.E. National Identification Program for the Advancement of Women in Higher Education Administration. The data were collected in two phases. *First phase*: In November 1978, 65 women who participated in the First Pennsylvania Conference for Women Administrators received the questionnaire, which they were asked to complete and return at the conference or by mail. *Second phase*: In January 1979, an additional 115 women administrators were mailed a similar questionnaire and letter. During February 1979, nonrespondents were mailed a reminder postcard. The combined group of 65 conference participants and 115 second-phase subjects comprise the sample of women in Pennsylvania who occupy positions in the three administrative categories surveyed. As of March 1979, 89 usable questionnaires had been received, a 52 percent rate of return. Eight questionnaires were returned unanswered because the person had moved or was not in an appropriate position or—a sign of the times—because the college had closed. Data were coded and analyses were conducted utilizing the Statistical Analysis System computer program.

The response rate was compared for representativeness by institutional type. For purposes of this study, four institutions in Pennsylvania were identified as major research universities, on the basis of the Carnegie Commission classification of research universities I and II. The category of public four-year and two-year college included 14 state colleges, 14 community colleges, and one state-related university. The private four-year and two-year college category included 83 private four-year colleges and universities and 10 private junior colleges. Analysis of the returns indicated only slight differences in the proportion of responses by institutional type. As a result of the comparison, we considered our sample to be representative by institutional type.

Career-Line Classification

For purposes of this study, individuals were classified according to the type of position they then held. We designated three different categories: *Major academic* includes the positions of vice-president for academic affairs, chief academic officer, or academic dean; it does not include vice-presidents of business and other auxiliary operations. Presidents were also excluded for several reasons, in particular the special character of the selection process and of the position itself. Thus, the major academic category is skewed toward deans. *Middle academic* includes positions such as associate and assistant dean or director and assistant to the president. *Major support* includes such student service positions as chief student life officer and dean of students, as well as directors of auxiliary operations, such as chief financial officer and director of public relations. A separate category was created for the support services including student affairs, based on findings from previous

research that have suggested it may be a separate career line (Mattfeld, 1972). It must also be noted that some positions in the major support category are equivalent in terms of responsibility, authority, and other criteria, to those in both other categories. Thus, the categories do not necessarily employ a hierarchy of levels.

There are a number of difficulties in doing research based on occupational titles and categories. One is the problem of classifying similar but not exact titles; another is the problem of same title but real differences in terms of size and mission of the institution. The responsibilities and authority for positions such as dean and assistant director vary a great deal from institution to institution. The scope of responsibilities for some assistant positions at large institutions is broader than that of deans at other institutions. This variation must be constantly kept in mind in considering the information presented below. According to our classification by level of position, women were rather evenly represented across categories. There were 40.6 percent in the major academic category, 29.2 percent in middle academic, and 30.3 percent in major support positions. However, administrative women tended to hold different positions in different types of institutions. For example, the majority of women in the major academic category (52.6 percent) were located in private four-year and two-year colleges and universities, which reflects the national profile of women in higher education (Howard, 1978).

Findings

A major goal of the study was to determine the mobility patterns of women administrators; mobility was viewed as a multidimensional concept. The traditional career mobility literature focuses first on positions held, then on institutions where the person has been affiliated, and perhaps finally, on a mobility measure based on "distance" from background origins. For purposes of this paper, we have focused on the two types of mobility related to position and institution.

In considering the nature of the respondents' incumbency, we looked at two dimensions, time in position and whether respondents came to the position from within or outside the institution in which they held their current position. When considering moves from outside the institution, we looked at whether the move was within the state, but other measures could be applied, including mobility within the same type of institution.

Time in Current Position

One potential measure of whether affirmative action programs are having an effect is time of promotion. We calculated that a reasonable date for taking affirmative action into account was 1972. The number of years each respondent had spent in her current position were coded as a dichotomous variable: those with six years or less and those with more than six years. As Table 1 indicates, a large majority of women in all categories had been in their current positions six years or less. For major academic administrators, the average was 4.1 years; for middle academic, 3.3 years; and for major support, 4.2 years. It was anticipated that the time in position would be shortest in categories such as support service, where there is a higher turnover rate, and longest at the top, where terms of office are often specified as five to ten years or longer. But because the literature suggests women remain longer in one position than men do, we did not expect the average to be quite so low. Our data suggest that most of the women are recent appointees. More analysis will be required to determine whether and how affirmative action made a difference, but the implication is present.

Institutional Mobility

As noted above, we considered two types of institutional mobility, within the same institution and from other institutions in Pennsylvania. A majority (67 percent) of all women administrators had advanced to their current position from within the same institution. Moreover,

Table 1

Selected Measures of Mobility of Women Administrators by Career Category

Mobility Measures	Major Academic		Middle Academic		Major Support		All Career Categories	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Six years or less in current position	27	75.0	24	92.3	22	81.4	73	82.0
Moved from within the same institution to current position	28	77.8	16	61.5	16	59.6	60	67.0
Moved from another Pennsylvania institution to current position	1	2.8	0	0	1	3.7	2	2.2
Last 3 positions in same institution	20	55.6	4	15.4	9	33.3	33	37.0
Last 3 positions within Pennsylvania institutions	32	88.9	15	57.7	18	66.6	65	73.0

major academic administrators were more likely than any other category to have moved to their current position from within the same institution. This indication of institutional stability is further supported when the latest three positions are considered. Here the stability of major academic women is even more evident; more than half (55.5 percent) had been at the same institution for their two previous positions. Greater institutional mobility is shown by the middle academics, perhaps reflecting the mixture of skills and credentials they possess. In addition, some members of this group entered their current position immediately upon completion of an advanced degree.

These findings are in accord with most other research on academic women (Arter, 1973). However, continuous affiliation with one institution often has been considered a major liability or barrier to women administrators' ability to move up. Comparable data on male administrators, particularly presidents, indicate they also possess a high degree of single institution stability (Cohen and March, 1974).

An analysis of the mobility of women administrators within the state reiterates the findings on institutional stability. Here again, nearly three-fourths of the respondents (73 percent) held their last three positions within the state. Only two respondents assumed their current positions by moving from another institution in Pennsylvania. Thus, if the respondents weren't promoted from within for their current position, they came from out of state or from a position outside of higher education. There is apparently very little circulation of women administrators within the state and not very much from

out of state.

It seems clear there is little intra- or inter-state networking going on among institutions. Women administrators are hired from within the institution or in rare cases from out of state, but not from other Pennsylvania colleges.

Anticipated Mobility

When the respondents were asked whether they anticipated a move to another position within the next five years, 40 percent answered yes and 40 percent said no; 20 percent were uncertain. The middle academic group was the most likely to anticipate a move (53.8 percent); the major academic was the least likely (29.4 percent). The response by the latter group is probably attributable to a number of factors, but age may be a principal one. The average age for major academic administrators is 48.5 years; several are in their sixties. Also, although there were no presidents in the group, some may feel they have reached the peak of their careers. Or, while they might consider a move, they may feel confined to one institution. In the case of the women who are members of religious communities, the decision to move may not be theirs to make in the same way as it is for others. Finally, most of these women have held their present position less than six years, so they may feel it is premature to speculate on the next move. One additional thought with regard to anticipated mobility is that if the most senior women administrators do not move, theirs will not be the specific positions to which other women can succeed in the near future.

The women who anticipated a move were asked to designate whether they expected to advance within their same institution or another. The major academic women who expected to move were divided equally between those two categories, while middle academic and support administrators felt they would be slightly more likely to move to another institution. In addition, several women in the latter two categories felt their next move would be to leave higher education altogether.

Table 2

Anticipated Mobility of Women Administrators Within Next Five Years by Career Category

Anticipated Mobility	Major Academic		Middle Academic		Major Support		All Career Categories	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Expect to move within 5 years	10	29.4	14	53.8	11	40.7	35	40.2
Will not move	16	47.1	7	27.3	12	44.4	35	40.1
Uncertain	8	23.5	5	19.2	4	14.8	17	19.5
Total	34	100.0	26	100.0	27	100.0	87	100.0

Faculty Experience

Most research on top-level male administrators, especially in academic affairs, indicates that advancement to their positions is through academic lines, a path that often, but not invariably, includes the chairmanship of an academic department. We were interested to learn how many of the women administrators in our sample had such experience.

The majority of respondents (53.9 percent) had held a full-time faculty position at some time. The major academic administrators were most likely to have had such experience (80.0 percent), while major support administrators were least likely to have been faculty (25.9 percent). Doubtless a good deal of the variance is explainable by the nature of the jobs each category includes.

With regard to chairperson positions, the evidence is much weaker. Only 14.6 percent of the respondents had been a chairperson, and even among the major academic administrators, 80 percent of whom had faculty experience, only 28 percent had ever held a department chair. Thus, while it is clear that advancement to top-level positions for both women and men is through academic lines, the department head positions appear to be neither as important nor as accessible to women as to men.

The one exception to this pattern of faculty experience is found in community colleges, where other skills and experiences may be valued as highly as teaching and research. Differences in faculty experience did appear when controlled by institutional type. For instance, when the women in two-year colleges were excluded from the category of women holding major academic positions, the proportion who had held faculty appointments was boosted to 97 percent. Nineteen (56 percent) of the 34 women in this four-year institution group advanced directly from teaching positions to top-line positions; 6 (18 percent) advanced from the position of chairperson, and 9 (26 percent) held another position in academic administration such as dean, associate or assistant dean.

Additional information on the careers of the 34 major academic administrators from four-year institutions in our study deserves mention. For example, in discussions of women's academic careers, there is frequent speculation whether having had experience or having begun work in a support area, specifically in student personnel, is detrimental to advancement to top positions. The data on the major academic respondents indicated that there is some merit to this speculation. Only two of the 34 major academic four-year college administrators had held support services positions.

Another speculation about women's careers—that women are still clustered in traditional fields such as teaching and nursing—was borne out by the respondents. Of the major academic administrators, including those from two-year institutions, 33.3 percent had held positions in K-12 education, and another 8.3 percent had held health-related positions outside of higher education. At the least, this suggests delayed entrance into the academic ranks and/or a probable higher age differential between these women and most males in comparable positions who began their careers directly in higher education. However, research by Cohen and March (1974) and others shows that a large proportion of college presidents had K-12 educational experience or ministerial backgrounds; in this light, the women's backgrounds do not seem so disparate.

Only four of the major academic administrators have had a classic academic career, from B.A. though Ph.D. to faculty position to administration. Of this group, two began in one of the "Seven Sisters" women's colleges, one was an undergraduate in a private, selective liberal arts college, and all three received graduate training at private research universities. The fourth was a member of a religious community and had attended prestigious Catholic institutions for all of her academic training.

The analysis of these various factors in the career histories of the women administrators, especially those holding major academic positions, suggests several

avenues for further research. For instance, these data suggest that no single career ladder predominates, and that no single position such as department chairperson is likely to be a better launchpad to top positions. However, faculty experience continues to be a prerequisite for most academic positions.

Conclusions

This study of women administrators speaks to the issues that surround the advancement of women in higher education generally. In certain respects, it reinforces what we already knew concerning the small numbers of women in college administration and the narrow band of careers and institutional locations in which they are situated.

We found that many women had changed positions quite recently; this may be considered at least partially the product of affirmative action efforts. However, the great majority of women have built their careers in one institution. There is little movement across the institutions in the state and little from the other states.

So often the complaint is heard that there simply aren't qualified women out there, and that if there are, they won't move. Our data indicate otherwise. A fair percentage of women would be willing to move, and in fact are anticipating a move. So one must ask, what can be done across a state and across institutions to improve opportunities for women to move if they choose? One such effort is the National Identification Program for Women Administrators conducted by the American Council on Education, Office of Women. The program has established over 40 statewide coordinating committees of and for women administrators to provide a networking function in terms of job opportunities and career needs. There are several others, such as the Higher Education Referral Service (HERS), working on a regional basis.

In considering the women already in major academic positions, we found that they have generally conformed to the traditional academic model of career advancement. Most of them have been faculty members at one time, but few have ever headed a department. In fact, no single position emerged as one held in common by any career category.

Another implication of these findings which bears on the strong faculty backgrounds of major academic administrators is that they do not resemble their colleagues in the other two categories. Almost no one among the major academic category had held a student personnel position. Few had held the same staff or line positions as do the present middle academic administrators. Part of the difference may relate to the nature of the work in each category as well as to the development of separate career tracks in recent years. Another partial explanation may be the fact that the women currently at the top are older. They built their careers during a different period in higher education. Thus while we can learn much from their experiences, the transfer is not always direct. In addition, if the differences among the categories are borne out by subsequent research, such a finding will raise a question concerning training programs that are geared to develop top level administrators in academic affairs but draw their clientele from middle management and support positions. Are expectations unrealistic for persons without basic faculty credentials?

Finally, both the differences in the representation of the three career lines among institutional types and the variations in career characteristics suggest a need for further study of organizational differences affecting advancement. The "second struggle" in which women administrators are currently engaged is a multifaceted phenomenon. The study of women administrators in Pennsylvania has described the extent to which women have built administrative careers similar to those of many men.

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Young Management Women: A New Look

Ann D. Knudson

The purpose of this study was to discover whether women trained in management are as assertive as men with similar training and to identify factors that contribute to assertive behavior. The study relied on measured characteristics and supervisors' job performance ratings to describe today's young management women. Generally it was found that women are as assertive as men and perform equally well on the job. Moreover, there appears to be a skill cluster that is associated with effective managerial style.

Much has been written about the lack of assertiveness in women managers. Many think women executives are less assertive than men, too passive, and lacking in risk taking behaviors (Boyle, cited in *Business Week*, 1975; Hennig & Jardim, 1977; Schein, 1976; Wood, 1975). In their book, *The Managerial Woman*, Margaret Hennig and Anne Jardim comment on the passivity of the women managers whom they interviewed. These women attributed success to "luck," to a "boss who said I could do it," and even to being "dragged kicking and screaming up the ladder." Some research studies have concluded that women possess unique gifts (Bardwick, 1971; Marcum, 1976; Hennig & Jardim, 1977) and can improve the quality of life in an organization. Others (for example, Lannon, 1977) suggest that women with the motivation and training to pursue a career may be loners, competitive and ambitious. The purpose of this study was to discover whether women trained in management at a large Midwestern university were less assertive than men with similar training and to identify factors that contribute to assertive behavior.

Description of Traits

Assertion

To assert means "to affirm; to state positively." Jakubowski (1973) states that assertion involves standing up for one's personal rights and expressing one's thoughts, feelings, and beliefs in direct, honest, and appropriate ways that do not violate the rights of others. Assertive behaviors involve confrontations that accurately point out discrepancies in another person's communications or behavior. Assertive responses include an empathic component that shows consideration and respect for another's point of view. Some assertions involve persuasion, but assertive behavior does not involve verbal or physical attack on others, or attempts to humiliate or "put down" the other person. Assertive behavior is not a hostile overreaction or an outburst that results from pent-up anger. It is important to differentiate assertion from aggression. Aggression involves verbal or physical attack, while assertion is the action of declaring oneself. In this

study, assertiveness is defined as that cluster of skills that enables people to communicate their ideals, attitudes, and beliefs in a positive manner, and to take an active rather than a passive approach to life.

The effective manager communicates assertively. Managers accomplish objectives through interaction with people. The manager does not have a clearly bounded job but is set in the middle of a system of relationships from which an organization must be fashioned to accomplish certain objectives. A manager must spend much of his or her time communicating with people; the early research on executive time use as well as more recent articles support this notion (Burns, 1954; Dubin, 1962; Henry, 1967; Kanter, 1977; Rusk & Ewing, 1980).

Effective communication is an intrinsic component of effective management. Gestures, body attitudes, empathic postures, and management actions often communicate a great deal more than words. For example, managers who say they trust a subordinate and then proceed to require detailed and frequent reports are usually perceived as distrusting that individual.

Locus of Control

Some managers believe that events affecting them are primarily the results of fate, chance, or powerful others (forces external to themselves), while others believe they control their lives through their own actions, that their success is due more to their own ability than to other factors. When people believe that they themselves control events that affect their lives, they are more likely to accept responsibility and plan and manage more effectively. Locus of control refers to whether an individual believes that the events affecting him or her are the result of his or her own actions (internal), or whether an individual believes that what happens is the result of external forces (Lefcourt, 1976; Levenson, 1974; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974; Rotter, 1966).

Causal Attribution of Success

Earlier studies (Deaux, 1974a; 1974b; 1976; Deaux & Emswiller, 1974; Deaux, White & Farris, 1974; Deaux & Taynor, 1973) reported that when men perform well, they attribute their performance to ability whereas women hesitate to claim ability as responsible for their success, and instead attribute success to luck or effort. This is important because past success influences future behavior. If a person explains success as due to ability, then that person should have reason to believe that such performance can be repeated. Even more important, confidence grows that one can manage the situation. But if success is attributed to luck or effort, there is less reason for the individual to believe that he or she is responsible for the outcome (Weiner, et al., 1971). If women in management attribute success to luck or effort, but not to ability, such an attitude inhibits their willingness to take risks, act assertively, and advance within the organization. Causal attribution of success is the factor a person uses to explain his or her success.

Method

Population

The population for this study consisted of undergraduate and graduate management students and entry-level managers who held degrees awarded by either the undergraduate or graduate management school. The sample consisted of 791 male and female students selected randomly from sophomore, senior, master's students, 1977 graduates from the undergraduate management school, and 1976 and 1977 master's graduates. The findings of this study are based on 423 responses, a 53% return.

Instrumentation

All subjects received a packet that included a cover letter, two standardized psychological inventories measuring assertive behavior and locus of control, two special cases designed for this study,

and in the case of entry-level managers, the supervisors' consent form. The investigator solicited performance ratings from those supervisors whom entry-level managers had granted permission to contact.

The Adult Self Expression Survey (Gay, Hollandsworth, & Galassi, 1975) assessed assertive behavior in a wide variety of such interpersonal situations as interaction with friends, the public, parents, intimate relationships, and authority figures. Sample questions are: "Do you insist that others do their fair share of the work?" "If your boss or supervisor expresses opinions with which you strongly disagree, do you venture to state you own point of view?" "Do you find it difficult to ask favors of others?" Because the assertive inventory measured assertive behaviors across a wide variety of situations not necessarily specific to business, a special case, "Options for Decision," was designed to measure assertive behavior specifically in a business situation. The second case, "Success Factors," measured whether an individual attributed a personal occupational success to luck, effort, or ability.[1] A standardized psychological inventory titled the Attitude Statement Survey (Levenson, 1974) measured locus of control. This inventory assessed whether people believed that they had control over events shaping their lives or whether powerful others or chance forces exerted more influence over their lives.

In addition to gender and level of management experience, subjects responded to questions about their age, grade-point average, satisfaction with major in the case of students, satisfaction with present position in the case of entry-level managers, salary range, and with respect to entry-level managers, whether they were working full time, part time, or not at all.

In order to link subjects' experience as reported in the inventories and cases to a behavioral observation, the investigator asked the entry-level managers' supervisors to rate the entry-level managers' over-all performance on a six-point scale. Subjects provided their supervisors' names and addresses and also written permission allowing the investigator to contact the supervisors.

Analysis

The two-way analysis of variance was used to analyze differences in assertiveness, locus of control and causal attribution of success in terms of gender and level of management training; to analyze differences among students in satisfaction with major in terms of gender and level of management training; and to analyze differences among entry-level managers in salary range, satisfaction with job, and performance rating in terms of gender and level of management training. Among students, relationships between assertiveness, locus of control, causal attribution of success, age, gender, grade-point index, and satisfaction with major were examined by means of a Pearson Product-Moment correlation matrix. Among graduates, relationships between assertiveness, locus of control, causal attribution of success, age, gender, grade-point index, salary range, satisfaction with job, and performance rating were examined in the same way.

Results

Assertiveness, Attribution of Success, and Locus of Control

Management men and women did not differ significantly in their reports of assertive behaviors as measured by the Adult Self Expression Survey.[2] Even when asked to imagine themselves in a business situation calling for unusually assertive behavior, i.e., firing someone, women were just as likely as men to report an assertive response. In fact, contrary to many studies reported in the literature, the trend was toward women reporting *more* assertive behavior than men.[3] With regard to the causal attribution of success case, women were significantly *more* likely to attribute an occupational success to ability, on a continuum of luck, effort, or ability. There was no significant difference between management men and women with respect to the Locus of Control Inventory. Men and

women thought equally that they controlled events that affected them. In general, the more experienced managers thought they were more in control of events that shaped their lives. However, level of management training differentially affected men and women with respect to locus of control.

Performance Rating and Salary Range

Male and female managers performed equally well as judged by their supervisors. However, they did not receive equal salaries. Although baccalaureate men did not receive more money than baccalaureate women, advanced degree men earned significantly more than advanced degree women. Level of training had an effect on performance as reflected by the fact that master's graduates were rated higher on the performance rating scale by their supervisors than managers holding bachelor's degree.

Skill Clusters

In general, there were positive correlations for both men and women between grade-point index, satisfaction with major or job, assertive behavior over a broad range of situations with a variety of people, assertive behavior in the business situation, attribution of a personal occupational success to ability rather than to luck or effort, and belief in control over events that shaped their lives.

Discussion

Assertiveness, Attribution of Success, and Locus of Control

Why are these findings on new management women so different from what earlier reports suggested? Perhaps men and women aren't really different in assertive behavior. Many of the earlier reports may have reflected experimenter bias. Or it may be that managerial women represent a nontraditional role. Assertiveness has been linked to appropriate managerial behavior and an observer may either devalue or deny assertiveness in women because he or she believes it is inappropriate for women to behave in this manner. Or it is possible that a new woman is emerging. Perhaps this new woman is less likely to minimize her own abilities and more likely to display assertive behaviors. A further explanation may be that women in management are a highly selected and carefully chosen group, more assertive than the average woman and in some cases more assertive than their male peers.

The more experienced managers gave more assertive responses in this study.

Individuals can be characterized as to whether they normally feel that events affecting them are the result of fate, chance, or powerful others, forces external to themselves, or whether they can control their lives through their own actions, internalizing their experiences.

This is to be expected, because up to a point assertive responses increase with age (Gay et al., 1975); in this study the more experienced managers generally were older. In addition, the environment of the management school is structured to elicit assertive behavior; i.e., students are encouraged to speak out and to compete with each other in class, and class participation is considered in assigning grades. Then, when students leave the college environment and enter the labor market, the press of the occupational environment further shapes behavior in the direction of assertive responses. Both male and female graduates reported slightly more assertive behavior than did the seniors, and the advanced degree graduates reported somewhat more assertive responses than did the master's students. Perhaps the work environment promotes assertive behavior more strongly than the educational environment; the

student role may elicit somewhat more submissive responses.

Individuals can be characterized as to whether they normally feel that events affecting them are the result of fate, chance, or powerful others, forces external to themselves, or whether they can control their lives through their own actions, internalizing their experiences. There is evidence in the literature that college age women tend to be "externalizers" (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). If women in management are "externalizers," they may lack confidence in performing an impending task because of their belief that their fate does not depend upon their own actions. This would inhibit a woman executive's willingness to take risks and engage in assertive behavior. But again, contrary to previous reports, men and women in this study thought equally that they controlled the events that affected them. In general the more experienced managers, men and women, thought they were more in control of events that shaped their lives.

Performance Rating and Salary Range

Male and female managers did not differ significantly on their performance ratings as judged by their supervisors. Therefore, one can assume that the women's supervisors judged them as being as capable managers as the men. However, they did not receive the same salary. Women holding bachelor's degrees did not earn significantly less than men holding bachelor's degrees, but women holding master's degrees did earn significantly less than men holding master's degrees. Although evidence in the literature indicated that women earn less than men for performing exactly the same job, certain areas of management pay less than other areas; for example, technical industries generally pay entry-level managers more than the banking industry. In this study, the salaries of men and women were not compared by management area. Moreover, many of the men master's graduates may have had more and different kinds of work experience than the women. Therefore, more research is needed before it can be determined whether indeed the women were being paid less money for performing the same work.

Skill Clusters

There appears to be a skill cluster associated with effective managerial style. The elements of the cluster involve those students and entry-level managers who performed well academically, enjoyed their major or job, viewed themselves as behaving assertively in their personal life as well as at work, believed that career success was related more to their own ability than to either luck or extra effort, and thought that they themselves had more control over their lives than did other people or chance forces. In short, they felt responsible for what happened to them and perhaps translated this sense of reponsibility into assertive behavior. They tended to take an active rather than a passive stance toward life and they did not project responsibility for influences that shaped their lives onto powerful others or chance forces. Entry-level managers who behaved this way earned higher salaries and received higher performance ratings, except for the master's women graduates.

The master's women graduates who perceived themselves as acting assertively did *not* receive more money. In fact, they received lower performance ratings from their supervisors than women who did not perceive themselves as acting assertively. When highly trained women with the credentials to pursue a top-level management career act assertively, some supervisors may feel threatened because they consider such behavior inappropriate for women, a response that places women in a double-bind situation. Women with advanced degrees who received higher scores on the Internal Locus of Control Subscale and thus reported that they felt they could control events that affected them received higher salaries. But when they translated this sense of reponsibility into assertive behaviors, they were not rewarded. Women have been encouraged to act assertively in managing a situation, yet the more they did so the more likely they were to be

judged poorly in performance rating in this study. Supervisors should be aware of the tendency to label assertive behaviors from women as role inappropriate—the "mean bitch" syndrome—and women should be made aware of the possible negative consequences of assertive behaviors. As Hennig and Jardim (1979) have pointed out, men have had the business world to themselves for a long time. In this sense, women are the strangers in a strange land and would do well to tread lightly and to remember that assertive behavior includes an empathic component that shows consideration and respect for another's point of view. Counselors must help *both* men and women work through change, change that ranges all the way from who should open the door in a social situation, to whose job takes precedence in a long-term relationship, to handling business as well as intimate relationships on a more equal basis.

As the result of new life styles, changing attitudes, and women's rising aspirations, there is a growing number of potential women managers entering the work force. Moreover, women constitute an important reservoir of managerial talent that should be developed for humanistic and economic reasons. All this will require the awareness and efforts of counselors and managers as well as of men and women entering the field of management. The successful manager, man or woman, must be able to communicate assertively; successful managers need to acquire skills in assertive action and communication. Although earlier studies have indicated that women executives are passive, unassertive, and afraid to take risks, this study suggests that assertive skills are not specific to male or female; individuals in both sexes possess the potential to develop them in varying degrees. The most successful manager, man or woman, will be the person with a large repertoire of managerial skills who can interact assertively in a variety of situations. "Manager" should equal "qualified person."

Footnotes

[1]The reliability coefficient on each case is available from the author.

[2]All differences reported are significant at or beyond the .05 level. More extensive statistics are available from the author.

[3]$p \leq .20$ for "The Adult Self Expression Survey" and the "Options for Decision" case.

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Women Doctoral Students in Higher Education Administration: Life-Style Aspirations and Multiple Role Commitments

Felice J. Dublon

Research studies have sought to delineate those social, psychological, and institutional factors which are perceived to limit women's opportunities for advancement. Although overt discrimination against women has received the greatest attention among obstacles to advancement in higher education, the dilemma of trying to combine marriage, family, and career may be the more pervasive deterrent to women's career goals. A survey instrument was sent to all women doctoral students in programs of higher education administration in Florida to determine which choices they would make regarding their career and family commitments. Most respondents indicated a future commitment to the roles of wife, mother, and employee. Although the employee role was most frequently mentioned, the role of wife was considered most important when simultaneous roles were indicated.

The importance of studying women's life-style choices is attested to by Angrist and Almquist (1975):

> Women's career aspirations must be viewed as integral to life style choices and commitments. Study of occupational choice alone obliterates the complexity of women's realistic attempts to anticipate and juggle their many roles. . . . Measurement of career aspirations should take into account the role multiplicity that women anticipate. (p. 69)

The specific need to study the life-style aspirations of women doctoral students in higher education administration takes on particular significance when examined in light of women's overall administrative status. Amidst a social revolution characterized by affirmative action legislation and changing life-style attitudes, women administrators at America's colleges and universities are still a rarity, particularly in top-level administrative positions (Gappa & Uehling, 1979). Although there are indications that some progress is being made, recent surveys reveal that women are primarily located in the lower administrative ranks (Sandler, 1979) and that white males continue to outnumber women and minority group members in administrative positions at colleges and universities by more than three to one (*Chronicle of Higher Education*, 1982).

Although overt discrimination against women has received the greatest attention, *de facto* discrimination may well be the more pervasive deterrent to women's career goals. Defined by Harris (1970) as those institutional practices that neglect

women's needs, *de facto* discrimination has not received adequate institutional attention. As Bonnie Freeman (1977) summarizes, "As long as the university does not concern itself with the variety of life styles prevalent among academic women and the many needs they have that differ from those of men, it will inevitably discriminate against otherwise qualified women" (p. 16).

The highly educated woman administrator is currently facing the post-legislative dilemma of trying to balance her career and family responsibilities and devise strategies by which conflicts between the various roles can be resolved. The woman doctoral student in administration has expressed, by virtue of her interest in obtaining the doctorate, a desire to incorporate the role of professional in her future plans. Yet, the critical issues of decreased employment options, limited institutional support for the family needs of women in academe, and fluctuating social norms which offer few guidelines for the women seeking to balance her multiple roles are potential barriers to advancement; they will require the new woman professional in higher education to give careful consideration to the consequences of her aspirations.

The highly educated woman administrator is currently facing the post-legislative dilemma of trying to balance her career and family responsibilities and devise strategies by which conflicts between the various roles can be resolved.

Purpose and Methodology

The primary purpose of this study was to examine the life-style aspirations of women doctoral students in comprehensive programs of higher education administration in light of the recent changes in attitudes toward traditional family and career role orientations. Specifically, responses to a survey instrument were analyzed to answer the following questions:

1. What are the life-style aspirations and role commitments of women doctoral students in higher education administration with regard to marriage, family, and career?
2. What effect do women doctoral students in higher education administration perceive their marital/family aspirations have on career advancement?
3. What conflicts do these women anticipate among their future role commitments to marriage, family, and career?
4. What coping strategies will be used to resolve conflicts among marriage, family, and career responsibilities?

The population examined in this study consisted of women doctoral students enrolled in comprehensive programs of higher education administration in Florida during the spring semester, 1982. These programs attract women students with a wide variety of professional and personal backgrounds, and women graduates from these programs have traditionally obtained leadership positions within the field of higher education.

Ninety-one women were identified, and all were mailed a survey instrument developed by the investigator. Survey responses were received from 89% of the population. Frequency distributions were computed on all variables except those derived from ten open-ended questions; these questions were included to allow for greater flexibility of response and were subsequently content analyzed.

Development of the Survey Instrument

The framework for the research instrument was inspired by the work of Douglas T. Hall (1972, 1976). In his theory of the role behavior of college-educated women, Hall addressed the issue of *how* rather than *whether* women should perform in both career and family roles and took into account women's occupational choices as

part of a total life-style rather than as an isolated variable. He observed that while careers were increasingly being seen as a fundamental area in which to gain social equality and personal liberation, women's desire to have *both* families and careers was indicative of a growing reluctance to sacrifice personal and family gratifications for the sake of one's career.

Hall's model of the roles of a married woman describes the hypothetical role subidentities of wife, mother, housewife, and employee. He concludes that the major role problem a woman encounters is multiple role conflict as opposed to the conflicting expectations *within* a particular role. Since employment is outside the traditional home role, the woman preferring to work may encounter increased role conflicts, time pressures, and discrimination when she seeks employment. Because they must often handle the primary responsibilities for children, women are also more likely than men to face the demands of their competing roles simultaneously. These problems may offset the satisfaction which a work-oriented woman would otherwise receive by doing what she prefers to do. Hall thus contends that the prediction that satisfaction is related to the extent to which women actually *do* the kind of career work they prefer to do is based on theoretical concepts about *male* careers. He concludes that if the process by which women make career choices is to be adequately understood, research related to women is required. His contribution to this understanding is found in his identification of three coping strategies for dealing with family role conflicts:

Structural role redefinition: An alteration of the external, structurally imposed expectations held by others, regarding the appropriate behavior of a person in his or her position.

Personal role redefinition: Changing one's attitude toward and perceptions of one's role expectations, as opposed to changing the expectations themselves.

Reactive role behavior: Accepting all expectations and attempting to do all that is expected of oneself. (p. 475)

These strategies were incorporated in the design of the survey instrument so that respondents could choose the strategy they would most likely use in resolving future conflicts between their various roles. Respondents were also asked to give an example of a situation exhibiting the use of their chosen strategy, thus allowing the use of content analysis to validate whether or not the concept was understood.

Findings: Demographic Information

The age range for respondents was 26 to 60. The average age was 38; the majority of women were over 35.

Immediately prior to their entry into the doctoral program the majority of respondents had been employed in postsecondary institutions. Among this group, most held either executive/administrative or instructional/research positions. The majority of women employed outside of postsecondary institutions were in secondary education. Most of the respondents were single (never married or divorced) and the majority did not have children.

Findings: Life Style Aspirations

Most of the respondents revealed marriage and family aspirations. Women who had plans for marriage and/or children also expected these events to occur after the age of 30, confirming a growing societal trend towards later marriage and childrearing and supporting Walsh's (1975) findings that female administrators tend to marry later in life than women in the general population.

Most of the respondents either had or expected to have at least one child, with the preferred number of children being two. Although most of the women who currently had no children *desired* children in the future, the majority did not *expect* to have children because of constraints placed upon them by their age, career and family responsibilities, finances, and time demands.

With respect to the highest position respondents expected to obtain in their lifetime, over half of the women expected to become chief executive officers, vice presidents, directors, deans, or chairmen of academic departments. These data lend support to Walsh's (1975) finding that

female administrators in higher education exhibit a high degree of career expectation. In addition, the majority of the respondents indicated that they would consider employment in fields unrelated to higher education, suggesting the possibility that their aspirations would be realized in alternative occupational settings.

Findings: Effect of Marriage/Family on Career Advancement

Respondents who were married or who planned to be married cited a supportive husband as the reason marriage would enhance or have no effect on their advancement. Geographical mobility was the limitation cited most frequently. Those women who planned on remaining single also viewed their marital status as either enhancing or having no effect on career advancement because of the perceived flexibility which would accompany their status.

With regard to the effect of family on career advancement, a supportive family was the reason most frequently cited for enhancing advancement among women who had or expected to have children. Women who viewed children as having no effect on advancement forwarded the explanation that their children were older and thus self-reliant. Less flexibility was seen as a limitation attributed to raising a family. Women who did not expect to have children indicated that their advancement would either be enhanced or would not be affected because of the greater flexibility achieved without children.

Findings: Role Commitments and Conflicts

Hall's (1972) model was described in the survey instrument for the purpose of clarifying the concept of women's role subidentities. According to the data, the largest percentage of the respondents expected to engage in the roles of wife, mother, employee, and housewife during their lifetime. Not surprisingly, all but one of the respondents selected "employee" as one of their future role subidentities. Despite this high level of career commitment indicated by the respondents, most of the women who envisioned participation in the above-mentioned roles reported the wife and mother roles as most important or prominent when roles occurred simultaneously in their lifetime. It would thus appear that a commitment to work should not be interpreted as diminishing commitment to the roles associated with marriage and the family. On the contrary, the respondents may well be representative of the increasing number of professional women *and* men who desire life styles which do not emphasize one role at the expense of another.

Respondents were divided equally between those who did and those who did not anticipate future conflicts between role subidentities when these roles occurred simultaneously. Those who did not anticipate conflict attributed this response to either a supportive husband and/or family or the use of role management techniques. Among women who did anticipate conflicts, the largest percentage were of the opinion that time constraints and the problems involved in balancing multiple roles contributed to role conflict. Time pressures, in particular, have been found to be a substantial problem for women professionals in higher education (Yogev, 1979).

An analysis of the data was also conducted to determine the relationship between the *number* of roles expected by the respondents and whether or not future conflicts between role subidentities were anticipated. Respondents committed to involvement in three or four roles were more likely than those women reporting fewer role commitments to anticipate future role conflicts. These findings would suggest that role conflict is a function of too many responsibilities that may result in role overload.

Findings: Role Conflict Strategies

The identification of methods by which role conflicts may be resolved has recently received considerable attention, because of the increasing number of career-oriented women who are confronted with the pressure to take on many roles without a guide as to how the task can be accomplished

(Friedan, 1981; Kleiman, 1980). The three coping strategies defined by Hall (1972) were incorporated in the study to ascertain how future women professionals in higher education intended to manage their role conflicts.

Structural and personal role redefinition were considered by Hall to be the more stable, permanent methods for resolving conflict. Through a redefinition of expectations, conflicts would be reduced; a person would not have to expend energy in performing under the strain of too many competing roles. Reactive role behavior, on the other hand, was considered a less satisfactory means of coping because of the energy required to find ways of meeting all role expectations.

The majority of women in this study reported structural role redefinition as their most likely strategy for conflict resolution and reactive role behavior as their least likely choice. These findings would suggest that these highly educated women will attempt to change the expectations held by others so that fewer conflicting demands will be placed upon them. However, a chi-square analysis revealed that older respondents and respondents who currently have children were more likely to choose the reactive role behavior strategy. It would appear that the unique life experiences of these women have guided them toward accepting and coping with role expectations as given.

Recommendations for Future Research

To determine the relationship between respondents' aspirations and actual behavior, the researcher will conduct the first follow-up study in the spring of 1987. In the meantime, a systematic investigation within individual institutions is needed to determine which policies and practices are effective in achieving a more equitable environment for women with families. Such a study could also include research on the incentives required for institutional change, an identification of institutional support programs related to relieving the familial constraints on occupational commitments for women *and* men, and an investigation of how institutional support is used and accepted within other occupational environments such as business and industry.

Recently, the movement for institutional change has gained momentum as more men have begun to experience some of the same conflicts between personal fulfillment and career demands once experienced predominantly by women. As Graham (1978) describes:

> The opportunities for flexibility in scheduling and career, heretofore a hallmark of the life of the professional woman, may come to characterize that of professional man as well. This may bring with it the chance to meld significant commitments to both work and family, however that family may be defined. (p. 773)

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Men and Women in Educational Administration Programs

Catherine Marshall

When women enter graduate school in fields which are male sex-typed[1], they encounter special problems. This paper explores some of the career obstacles for women in educational administration and some strategies women devise to circumvent these obstacles. It focuses on women's participation in graduate education as one such strategy. The author discusses how both previous research and the findings of her own study raise serious questions about the ability of current educational administration programs to address the special needs of their women students.

Background and Significance

Men and women who seek administrative careers in education during the 1980s will find opportunities for employment to be limited by declining enrollments. There is a growing body of research which reveals how these conditions are exacerbated for women by factors ranging from the dominance of a sponsor mobility system to a lack of commitment to and enforcement of affirmative action programs.

Griffiths, et al. (1965) and Valverde (1974) identified a number of informal career socialization processes in educational administration. They found that demonstrating loyalty, gaining visibility, and having a sponsor are critical variables (not university training, although university-earned degrees and credentials are required). Turner (1960) also found that the most salient socialization and mobility system for school administration is the informal sponsor-protégé relationship.[2]

Women have unequal access to this relationship, since sponsors seek out protégés who have backgrounds similar to their own (Marshall, 1979; Ortiz, 1982; Valverde, 1974). Statistics confirm women's unequal access to administration.[3] While there are very few women in educational administration and while the sponsor mobility system is the rule, the underrepresentation will continue (Marshall, 1979; Valverde, 1974; Ortiz, 1982; Turner, 1960).

Therefore, women who aspire to administrative careers must devise substitute socialization and mobility structures which provide them with the following:

Role models for the explication of the model of filling administrative functions.

Ways to learn appropriate attitudes, behaviors, and norms through opportunities for situational task learning (Breer & Locke, 1965).

Support so that women can maintain their confidence and aspiration during times of role ambiguity, role conflict, and organizational testing.

Information about and recommendations for administrative positions through an informal network.

Creating these replacements for sponsorship becomes an additional task for

women. Along the way some women falter; some lower their aspirations or seek other careers. Some women expend so much time and energy that they suffer from anxiety, illness, and family disruption as they are simultaneously creating replacement socialization structures and functioning in entry administrative positions (Marshall, 1979).

Women pursuing education administration careers bring this experience to universities where they seek not only required credentials, but also alternative socialization processes for the sponsor-protégé mechanism, personal guidance and support, and role models. What kind of environment do these women encounter in institutions of higher education?

Women and Graduate Education

There are economic, legal, and ethical reasons for universities to concern themselves with the special problems of women students. First, universities face the very practical problem of sustaining enrollment at a time when fewer and fewer people are becoming involved in higher education. Second, universities must concern themselves with the legal aspects and spirit of Title IX. The implementation of affirmative action policies requires a pool of well-qualified women, and university-earned credentials and degrees are part of the formal qualifying criteria for educational administration. Finally, the university could potentially play a key role in helping school districts eliminate the waste of human resources resulting from underutilization of women in administration.

But these motivations do not guarantee a graduate education experience which meets the special needs of women in educational administration. Previous research provides both direct evidence and some clues about what their graduate experience is like.

Expectations. Women students generally are much less likely than men to feel confident about their preparation for and ability to do graduate work (El-Khawas, 1980). Thistlewaite (1965) found that there is a greater discrepancy between the aspiration to enter and the actual entry of women into graduate school than there is for men. Further, studies indicate that male faculty members tend to affirm male students more than female students, and often perceive women students primarily as sexual beings who are less capable and less serious than male students (Montiero, 1980; Hochschild, 1975; Tidball, 1975; Heyman, 1977; Speizer, 1982). Graduate women often report being discouraged, angered, or confused by subtle and overt verbal and nonverbal exclusion that indicates lower expectations from them (Duncan, 1976). Studies show that in formal groups containing both men and women, men talk more and longer, exert more control over the topic of conversation, more frequently interrupt women than vice versa, and often interrupt with trivial or personal comments (Zimmerman & West, 1975; and Wolman & Frank, 1975). Karp and Yoels (1976) found that in male-taught college classes, male students were much more likely to be directly questioned by the professor and twice as likely to respond to a comment. Thus, formal and informal aspects of university programs may devalue women students and reinforce stereotypes.

Academic counseling may channel women into specialties that have been traditionally populated by women. The fact that even though the education profession is populated predominately by women, only 28% of education doctorates are held by women (National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, 1981) lends strong support to this supposition. Even though more women are enrolling in education administration programs for doctorates and credentials, women graduates are more likely than men to enter careers *other* than public school administration (Stockard & Kempner, 1981; Edson, 1980). Most educational administration programs report little or no use of formal or informal recruiting procedures which reach out to help women find positions (Stockard & Kempner, 1981). Finally, research and teaching assistantships, fellowships, awards, and scholarship nominations are more frequently given to men, signaling support, recognition of worth, and rewards to men (Patterson & Sells, 1973; Adler, 1976; Carnegie Commission, 1973).

Sponsors for women. Women have few role models in either school districts or universities. In 1975, only 2% of educational administration professors were women. In 1983, 8% of the professors of educational administration were women (Educational Administration Directors, 1983). Women professors occupy lower-level positions, earn less money than men, are expected to serve on a plethora of committees representing women, are rewarded for giving service and for teaching, and have less collegial interaction than do male faculty members (Kaufman, 1978). In 1983, 56% of these women professors were in temporary, adjunct, instructor, or assistant professor positions.

Smaller numbers and lower positions signify that women professors are tokens, isolated, with little power, and in a situation where their career success is in jeopardy. Such a position limits their ability to provide support systems or to be models for women students. In addition, women professors must first break into the old-boy network in education administration if they are to help students identify administrative job openings. This situation may help to explain why women who enroll in programs and eventually earn credentials and doctorates still have less success entering and moving up in school administration.

School districts and the perpetuation of male dominance. University programs may actually promote ideas that perpetuate male dominance. There are a growing number of critics who argue that both the general area of organization theory and the education administration and supervision literature are based on assumptions that organizations are run by men and that management is an area where male-appropriate behaviors are preferred (Tietz & Shakeshaft, 1982). Educational administration programs seldom include these arguments in their curricula. Further, as an employer, the university incorporates the male dominance model (Stockard & Johnson, 1981).

Adkison (1982) demonstrated that schools tend to adopt the easiest and most obvious solution to sex equity. In their efforts to serve school districts, administration programs may help and perpetuate the old-boy network by training male students to maintain the status quo. Universities may also undermine sex equity by recommending individual women for token compliance to affirmative action, without raising issues of substantive organizational change.

The relevance of university course work. Do university programs provide relevant learning experiences for education administrators? Greenfield (1982) and Silver (1981) point out that we are still trying to develop a theory of educational administration and appropriate criteria for judging and selecting administrators. We know that on-the-job experience provides more than crucial "how-to" training. It also develops appropriate values and provides visibility that is crucial to boundary crossing in career mobility (Schein, 1971; Merton, 1964; Breer & Locke, 1965). Can university programs help women acquire knowledge that will compensate for lack of access to certain types of on-the-job training?

In the author's (1979) exploratory work, women administrators indicated that course experiences that were especially helpful to their career adjustment were those which included simulation of administrative functions, organizational theory, anthropological/sociological approaches to administrative problems, and/or the special problems of women entering administration. Several women benefited from sponsorship by university professors, counselors, and foundation fellowships. However, many had encountered such barriers as lack of financial support, conflict with family and women's roles, professors' doubts about their aspiration and commitment, and geographic distance from degree-granting programs.

Research has shown that although women can perform competently as administrators, school system organizational structure and socialization provide little opportunity for women's career mobility. The project described in this paper studied the effects of graduate programs in education administration on women's career mobility.

The Research

The Setting and Methodology

This study examined one graduate education program which offered an educational administration degree (Master's, Ed D and Ph D) and certification during 1976 to 1980. The program maintained a close working relationship with suburban and urban school districts primarily through training their personnel. At the time of the study, the program had 10 faculty and had just hired its first female professor of educational administration. It focused more on training and providing service to schools than on research. The program was in a university which, in 1980, employed only 14.6 female faculty (45% of them tenured) and had only one woman in a higher administrative position. The university is in a state whose statistics on women in school administration approximate the national averages.

During these years, the average continuing annual enrollment in the educational administration program was 250. In 1980, 71% of the recent Ph D aspirants and 63% of the Ed D aspirants were women. Some students benefited from financial subsidies from their employers' school districts while enrolled; some received financial support from the university. The average cost for courses was high: the cost for the typical Ed D program was approximately $15,000.

The research employed a written survey mailed in 1980 to all students who were enrolled in the educational administration program between 1976 and 1980. It was devised to elicit background information on status, goals, university and life experiences. Of the 250 surveys, 165 were returned and usable; however, not all respondents answered every question. Follow-up interviews were conducted with five students, three professors, and two program administrators.

Findings

The male-female differences in age, career decisions and aspirations, and support and obstacles were substantial. Interviews confirmed the general sense of the survey findings.

Age. The enrolled male students were younger than the women. Women were far more likely than men to enter the program before age thirty. The largest percentage of students were in their thirties; of these, 66% were male and 34% female. Women were more likely than men to be enrolled in the program in their forties, fifties, and beyond. (See Table 1.)

It may be that women enroll in graduate school during their twenties when career aspirations are high, but that they falter, experience high anxiety, and/or reassess during their thirties, when managing career role-strain becomes more difficult and when career obstacles become more obvious. That they participate in lower numbers than men suggests that the university and school system structures are doing very little to facilitate their passage through this career stage.

Aspirations and career decisions during enrollment. The research sought to identify interaction among career progression, motivation, university program structures, and career goal development by asking for: reasons for choosing the program, opportunities provided by the program, training activities in the program, special obstacles and supports in the program.

In the responses to questions about why they attended this specific educational administration program, the male-female differences were interesting. Slightly more men than women said that it was for certification or would advance their careers; 58% of men but only 42% of women cited "job related" reasons such as promotions and career changes.

The findings on career status, goals, and expectations for career development show important sex differences (Table 2 and Figures 2 and 3). Women's positions during enrollment were clustered at the bottom of the educational organization hierarchies; more women were teachers and more men were line administrators. When asked about their post-degree career goals, males were much more likely to aspire to the top administrative line positions (assistant superintendent, principal, and superintendent). More women than men aspired to staff and specialist positions. Ortiz (1982) showed that women in administration are

Table 1
Age and Sex of Educational Administration Leadership Students

Age	Number of Males	%	Number of Females	%	Total
20–24	0	0	0	0	0
25–29	2	10	15	90	17
30–34	24	66	13	34	37
35–39	35	66	18	34	53
40–44	10	45	13	55	23
45–49	9	54	8	46	17
50+	5	20	13	80	18
Total	85		80		165

most frequently in staff and specialist positions, so this aspiration mirrors reality.

Figure 2 shows a greater proportion of women seeking the Ph D, while men were overrepresented in the Ed D program. In this program, the students are advised to pursue the Ed D if they will remain education practitioners, and the Ph D if they seek more research, university-based, and specialist positions.

A majority of students did not change their career goals while they were in the program. Only twenty-two percent (17 men and 21 women) changed goals and specified their changes: a different type of position, a higher level position, a different system, or a refinement of goals.

More women than men expected that their participation in the graduate program would enable them to get a different kind of job or a job in a different organization. However, men were more likely than women to expect that the program would advance their careers in their present organizations.

Support, obstacles and discrimination. Enrolled students' reports of their current income showed widely different trends by gender; of those reporting incomes less than $10,000, 24% were men and 76% were women; of those reporting incomes under $20,000, 35% were men and 65% were women. Of those (24) who reported incomes over $30,000, 71% were men and 29% were women (see Figure 1).

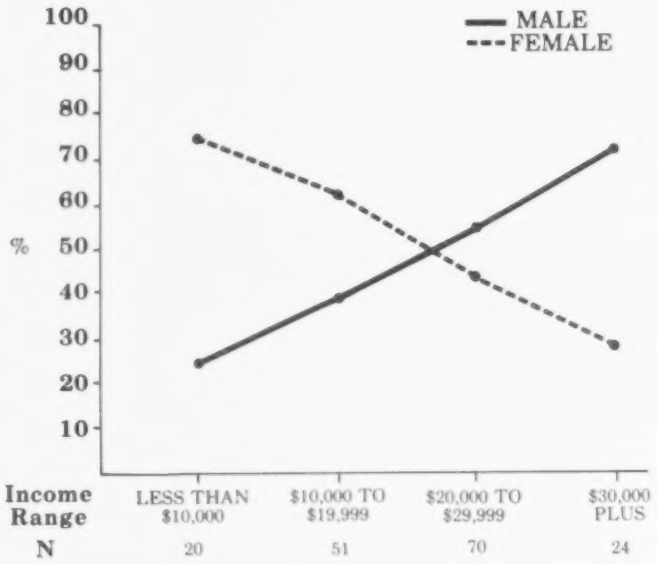
The majority of students (57%) financed their education by some combination of scholarship, employer financing, loans, and self-financing. Of those 35 who reported that their entire program enrollment was self-financed, 60% were women and 40% were men. Of those 18 who reported that their education was totally employer-financed, 56% were women and 44% were men.

The overall picture of financial support shows men having an advantage in large part because they have higher incomes while enrolled in graduate school. It is interesting to note that this occurs even though women students were, on the

Table 2
Educational Administration Leadership Students' Sex, Present Positions, and Goals after Completion of Degree*

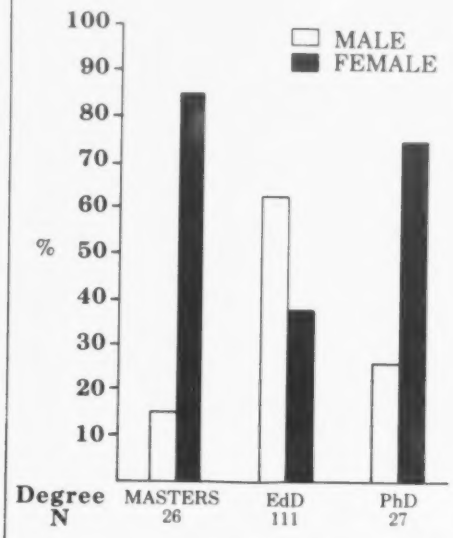
K-12 Present Position	M	F	Goal for Future	M	F
Teacher	10	20	Teacher	1	7
Assistant Principal or Principal	30	7	Assistant Principal or Principal	13	3
District, State, or Federal Staff Position	16	1	District, State or Federal Staff Position	5	10
Assistant Superintendent or Superintendent	4	0	Assistant Superintendent or Superintendent	23	5
Higher Education Present Position	**M**	**F**	**Higher Education Goal or Future**	**M**	**F**
Research Assistant or Instructor	1	9	Research Assistant or Instructor	2	4
Assistant Professor	3	1	Assistant Professor	2	2
Associate or Full Professor	1	3	Associate or Full Professor	1	2
Post-Secondary Administrator	6	1	Post-Secondary Administrator	0	10
Research Position	0	0	Research Position	0	3
Unemployed	0	10	Unemployed	0	0

*Some students failed to fill in an answer to the question about future goals.



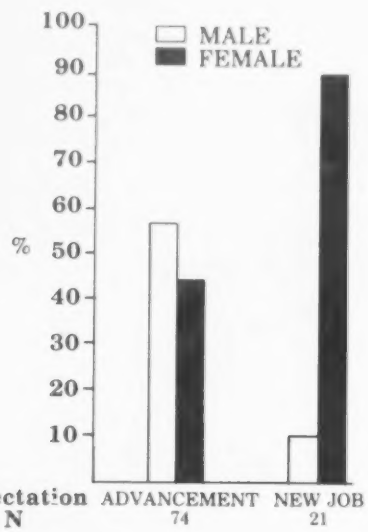
Income and Sex of Educational Leadership Students

Figure 1



Degree Sought and Sex of Educational Leadership Students

Figure 2



Sex as Related to How Coursework Is Expected to Change Employment

Figure 3

average, older than men students.

Enrolled students were asked if they had felt discriminated against in the career and in working toward the degree or, conversely, if they had benefited from any special support or incentives. Of those (49) who reported extra support in the university, 51% were women and 49% were men. Of those (16) who reported unfair discrimination in the university, 69% were women and 31% were men. While 58 people reported experiencing no discrimination (men and women equally), 26 did not respond (women were 61% of the nonresponders). Fifteen women and no men reported sex discrimination in the profession.

Students sometimes reported in detail their perception of obstacles to their graduate study. The most reported obstacle was financial; of those (35) reporting financial problems, 49% were female and 51% were male. Of those (15) reporting job interference, 47% were female and 53% were male. Only four women and two men reported family pressures as an obstacle.

Other Findings

Approximately equal numbers of men and women reported having one or two dependents. However, of those with three dependents, 76% were men and 24% were women; of those with four dependents, 79% were men and 21% were women. These data suggest that having more dependents may adversely affect women more than men in their enrollment in graduate programs. Differences in marital status were striking—70% of the women but only 30% of the men were single or divorced.

Conclusions and Recommendations

People go through a complex socialization process as they choose and enter graduate programs in educational administration, develop and alter goals, and find support as they seek training and then career mobility. The survey did not address this complex process. Future research should combine the strengths of the survey with more in-depth and focused data collection. However, when the data are placed in the context of previous research, they suggest important sex differences in the process for students.

Clearly, participation in this education administration program was different for women and men. That women are older, that they have less financial support, lower positions, and lower career goals, that they have encountered sex discrimination, that they are more likely to be divorced, and so on, suggests that the program selects, develops, and supports students in ways that do not promote equal opportunity.

The findings in this research suggest that professionals, professors, and practitioners in educational administration should examine further the role of the university in supporting and providing appropriate training for women. Although this case may be an exception—a pocket in an otherwise sex-fair universe—previous research on the national underutilization of women in school administration lends credence to the generalizability of the findings of this study.

It is important to ask how educational administration programs can lead the profession to provide equal access to women. We need to investigate the barriers that are preventing younger married women with dependents from entering programs and the appropriateness of the norm for entry into administration being before age thirty, asking whether these norms are fair to women whose life stages differ from those of men. We need to examine the needs of older women students to see whether the universities have devised ways to raise their aspirations and to help school districts to value the expertise of women students and place women in administrative positions. In the 1980s, university programs should be checking themselves to ensure that their programs for certification and degrees in educational administration develop and support equal opportunity structures for *all* their students.

Footnotes

1. Male sex-typed is a concept defined by Merton (1964) as a career in which the incumbents are predominately male and there is an expectation that it should be that way.

2. Turner (1960) showed that the mobility system in education is sponsored, not contest, mobility. Therefore, when two individuals are competing for a position, the sponsored individual will get the position even if the other individual has better qualifications. Valverde (1974) pointed out that the sponsor-protege mechanism has a built-in replication formula by which white males choose and promote proteges with the same backgrounds (cultural, ethnic, values, race, and sex) as theirs.

3. Only 1% of superintendents; 6% of assistant, deputy and associate superintendents; 2% of high school principals; 3.5% of junior high principals; and 21% of elementary school principals are women (AASA, 1975; Meskin, 1974; Naastrom, 1976).

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A Comparative Career Profile of Female and Male University Administrators

Joan Dellimore Barrax

A qualitative study involving in-depth interviews with 15 female and 15 male administrators in 3 universities shows that there are several similarities as well as some differences in the career paths of female and male administrators in these settings. Also, the way in which both women and men attained their positions (either by search or nonsearch procedures) is a factor in the perception of both sexes regarding what contributed to their selection.

Much of the literature related to the "careering" of women has addressed the personal background of women whose career paths have led to top-level positions in organizations and the factors related to "successful careering." Much of this literature focuses on women in business organizations; relatively little attention has been paid to women in administrative positions in colleges and universities. Further, much of the research on the career paths that women have followed to top-level managerial or administrative posts in colleges and universities has been based on single-sex samples.

The present study sought to uncover similarities and differences in the career profiles of women and men who have achieved similar administrative positions in a university setting. Although it provides demographic background data on the participants, it focuses not so much on personal history as on educational and professional factors that have influenced the career histories of these administrators.

Related Literature

Several major themes run through much of the general literature on the career paths of managers and administrators. One major theme is mentorism and sponsorship, usually by an influential male, as a critical factor in the advancement of aspiring managers (Orth & Jacobs, 1971; Thompson, 1976; Crawford, 1977; Cook, 1979). The mentor may not only function as a role model, but also provide persons who have potential with opportunities for demonstrating such ability, and offer career guidance and advice.

Another major theme is active networking or "connecting" with those in influential positions in organizations (Scheele, 1977; Gordon & Ball, 1977; Zaccharias, 1978). Such networking may produce potential sponsors for the aspiring manager or may connect him or her with those in a position to recognize and reward performance or provide crucial recommendations.

Other factors related to career path are possession of educational credentials suited to managerial positions and competence in carrying out responsibilities (Lynch, 1973; Wood, 1975; Hennig & Jardim, 1976; Taylor & Shavlik, 1977). Also cited in the literature as important to

a managerial career are such personal characteristics as ambition, self-confidence, career-mindedness, objectivity, aggressiveness, and interpersonal and communication skills (Schetlin, 1975; Wood, 1975; Thompson, 1976; Hennig & Jardim, 1976; Gordon & Ball, 1977; Scheele, 1977).

Women in Higher Education Administration

Studies of women in higher education administration also reflect some of the major themes discussed above. Graham (1971), Almquist and Angrist (1971), Nieboer (1975), Mc Gee (1979), and Ironside (1982) found that women in higher education administration had had role models or mentors who influenced their careers. McGee found that 57 percent of the role models identified by the 35 female presidents in her study were female. Benton (1980) and Mc Gee also found networking and job contacts important to the careers of the female administrators in their studies. Andre and Edwards (1978) report, however, that women 45 and older say that job contacts were not important elements in their career.

Credentials are reported as crucial factors, too, for the careers of women in higher education administration (Benton, 1980). These credentials generally mean a terminal degree, publications, and membership in organizations. McGee reports, though, that the women presidents in her study rated publications and membership in organizations as having little influence on their career paths.

Experience in lower-level positions and competence in carrying out responsibilities in such positions are also shown to be key elements in the career paths of female administrators (Pfiffner, 1976; Benton, 1980; Mc Gee, 1979). Ironside found, too, that the women in her study had involved themselves in university committee work and proved themselves, and this led to opportunities in administration. Personal characteristics such as interpersonal skills (Pfiffner, 1976), communication skills (Ironside, 1982), a positive self-concept, and confidence (Benton, 1980) are also reported as key factors. The women in McGee's study also included timing and chance as important elements in their career development.

Participating Institutions and Administrators

A total of 30 administrators, 15 females and 15 males, in three institutions in the University of North Carolina system participated in the study. All three universities use similar terminologies to designate administrative positions. Each selected institution has a student body exceeding 10,000.

The administrators hold positions in a cross-section of administrative areas, including academic affairs, health affairs, and student affairs. The 30 administrators all function at the level of assistant dean and above; the distribution of positions is: vice chancellor (2), assistant vice chancellor (4), dean (8), associate dean (13), and assistant dean (3). Of the 30 administrators, 26 hold faculty rank.

The criteria for sample selection were a terminal degree for those administering all organizational units directly concerned with academic pursuits, and a minimum of a master's degree for those administering nonacademic units. No exceptions to these criteria were made in the final sample selected.

Procedure

Females listed in current catalogs in administrative positions at each institution and who met the criteria were selected and matched with male administrators at the same institution. The matching of participants was carried out primarily according to position level.

The chief means of data collection was the in-depth interview. However, supplementary sources of data such as vitae were also used when they were provided by the participants.

Limitations

Besides small sample size, one limitation of this study lies in the fact that the data generated by the interviewees are self-reports and therefore represent the participants' perceptions. These self-reports have the potential for distorting

validity, since perceptions may not always match reality. Another limitation of the study is that no chancellors were included. Since no females function at that position level in the three selected institutions, no matching of female and male chancellors was possible.

Findings

Education

In the selection process, men were matched with women without reference to the chronology of their education. A pattern that emerged for the women is that the largest number received the baccalaureate degree in the 1940s (40%) or 1960s (40%); the fewest women participants were undergraduates during the 1950s (13%) and 1970s (7%). On the other hand, the majority of males in the study received the first degree in the 1950s (47%) and 1960s (33%). Twenty percent of the men received the first degree in the 1940s and none in the 1970s.

As for terminal or last degrees obtained, some shifts in academic or professional interest occurred in the education of both women and men, although much more so for women. For the female participants, the distribution for first and last degree obtained shows that the highest percent (33%) received the first degree in the social, behavioral, and political sciences, a figure that dropped to 20 percent for terminal degrees earned in this category. While the category with the second highest percent (27%) for first degrees earned is the applied sciences, it is in this category that the greatest shift occurs for women. None received the last degree in fields in this category. This is primarily accounted for by the fact that while several women began their academic careers in such strongly sex-typed fields as nursing, they shifted to somewhat less sex-typed fields such as higher education administration to earn a terminal degree.

For women, it is only in the liberal arts that percentages remain constant for the first and last degrees earned. The 20 percent who began undergraduate studies in the liberal arts also received terminal degrees in this field. Thirteen percent received the baccalaureate degree in education, a figure that jumped to 53 percent for terminal degrees earned in this field, primarily higher education administration. In other fields, 7 percent of the women received an undergraduate degree in the basic sciences, but none pursued a terminal degree in this area of study. And while none of the women began in business, 7 percent pursued their last degree in this field.

For men, although some shifts in intellectual pursuits also occur, there is more consistency than for females between first and last degrees obtained. The highest number (27%) earned the undergraduate degree in the basic sciences and the same percent also earned terminal degrees in this category. The percentage of males earning first degrees in business, the applied sciences, and the social, behavioral, and political sciences is the same (20%) for each category. This 20 percent figure remains the same for last degrees earned by the men in business and the applied sciences, but drops to 13 percent for the social, behavioral, and political sciences. An equal number of men also received undergraduate degrees in education (7%) and the liberal arts (7%), but 20 percent of the men received terminal degrees in education and none earned a terminal degree in the liberal arts.

Experience

Regarding the experience of the administrators in their current positions, the greatest number of administrators, both females and males, have been in their position 1 to 5 years. Fifty-three percent of the women and 40 percent of the men have held their current administrative positions 1 to 5 years. No women and 20 percent of the men have held the current position 10 to 15 years. Thirteen percent of the females and 7 percent of the men have been in the same position 15 years and over. As for those with the least experience, only females (20%) have been in the position less than one year, probably because women have only recently been brought into administrative positions.

The total number of years of administrative experience, including current and past experience, is somewhat more evenly distributed between the men and women.

Thirty-three percent of the women and 40 percent of the men have had 15 years or more of total administrative experience; 13 percent of the women versus 7 percent of the men have had 10 to 15 years of experience ; 27 percent of both females and males have had 5 to 10 years total experience ; and 20 percent of the females versus 27 percent of the males have been administrators for 1 to 5 years. But again, only females (7%) have had less than one year of total administrative experience.

Factors Contributing to Selection for the Position

Six of the women and six of the men, primarily but not exclusively deans, attained their current positions after competing in a search, and nine of the females and nine of the males were nominated or invited to apply from within the institution. Both male and female administrators in these two categories stress diferent factors they feel contributed to their being selected for the positions they hold. The reasons given reflect not only their perceptions but also what they feel they projected or sought to project that is important for their position.

The factors most frequently mentioned by the men and women who went through the search process fall into six broad groupings. There is some variance in the frequency in which the participants cite them, however.

A history of taking risks, achieving change successfully, and being progressive was cited by 83 percent of the women and 17% of the men.

Other major factors are possession of the right credentials (a terminal degree and publications) and a regional or national reputation from involvement in organizations (women 33%; men, 33%); responses given to questions during interviews revealing communication skills or institutional match (women, 33%; men, 50%); strong recommendations from the "right" persons (women, 33%; men, 17%); and social and personal characteristics of the interviewees (women, 33%; men, 17%).

The nine women and nine men who were nominated or invited to apply for positions also cite a variety of reasons they believe they were selected. Some cite personal skills or characteristics. The skills most of the women and men stress (women, 89%; men, 89%) are interpersonal and communication skills they say they demonstrated in meetings. Other characteristics are efficiency—they pay attention to detail, are good at paper work, and are well-organized (females, 33%; males, 44%), and assertiveness (women, 11%; men, 11%).

In addition to personal characteristics, the administrators who did not go through a search stress other key factors which they believe helped to get them their administrative appointments. Both the females (67%) and males (78%) credit their selection to the visibility gained through involvement in a variety of activities (mainly committee work) on their campus, which in turn allowed them to demonstrate their involvement in the affairs of the university and their breadth of interest. However, almost twice as many of these women (78%) as men (44%) felt that previous administrative experience in lower-level positions had been a critical factor in their appointment. Other factors cited are contacts who furnished opportunities to demonstrate skill or recommended them to others (women, 22%; men, 11%), and political convenience (women, 11%; men, 11%).

One common element in the responses of more than 75 percent of the women and men—both those who went through a search and those who did not—is the fact that they had mentors or role models in both their educational and their professional experience. Although women who started their careers in sex-typed fields, such as nursing, or in fields in which women traditionally have been segregated from men, such as physical education, say that they have had female mentors and role models, the majority of mentors discussed are male. As one woman explains, few women were in positions that enabled them to function as professional mentors or role models.

Summary and Conclusions

Because of the small size of the sample, generalizations from study results must be

drawn with caution. Although the study bears out some of the findings of related research, it also revealed some nuances of difference as well. Women in the sample, no less than men, regard mentors as important elements in their career development. Both females and males in the study feel that their efficiency and competence in carrying out responsibilities helped their administrative careers, but more women as well as men consider their interpersonal and communications skills as crucial to the paths that led to selection for their positions.

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Regarding experience, only those persons—females and males—who had been appointed to their positions from within the university mentioned prior administrative experience in lower-level positions as a crucial factor in selection. And more women than men regarded it as important. As for credentials, only those women and men who went through a search process thought their credentials mattered in their selection for their positions.

Two characteristics often discussed in the literature as important for managers or administrators are the ability to take risks and assertiveness. Only the administrators who had gone through a search perceived their history of risk-taking as having contributed to their selection for their current positions, and of these, more women stress its importance to their selection. Only the administrators who had been appointed from within the university felt that their assertiveness was a key element in the appointment, but even in this group only a small percentage of both females and males considered it important.

Informal networking, also commonly discussed in the literature as a key element in administrative career pathing, was not perceived by many of the women or the men as a crucial element in their selection for their positions. Few of the women or men who had gone through a search or who had been nominated from within the institution felt that job contacts or recommendations from influential persons—all potential results of informal networking—had contributed to their appointments. Nevertheless, both the females and the males who had been appointed from within their institutions gave high credit to their selection for their position to what could be considered a more formal networking—participation in committee activities that brought them in contact with and to the attention of key persons in their institutions.

Generally, the findings of the study show that women—as well as men—who are already working at a university and who wish to move into administrative positions can attract attention to their abilities by volunteering for and accepting assignments at all university levels that can give them opportunities to demonstrate interpersonal and communication skills in particular, as well as other skills perceived by the participants in this study to be important for administration. Women and men seeking positions through a competitive search process can benefit from the perceptions of these female and male administrators about what was crucial to their selection. Women can especially consider the perception female administrators have of themselves not only as persons who get things done, but who are risk-takers who have been successful in achieving change smoothly, and can consciously set out to demonstrate such a record.

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A Washington Perspective on Women and Networking: The Power and the Pitfalls

Madeleine F. Green

While not a new concept, networking has become an important dimension of women's advancement into traditionally male power structure. Successful networking should serve to create a support and information network among women as well as to provide access to established leadership. Whether networking is individual or institutionalized, as it is in two programs of the American Council on Education, women must be aware of both its powerful potential and its very real pitfalls.

Communication brings knowledge, and knowledge, power. Thus, networking, or the sharing of information and the creation of personal linkages, has received considerable attention as a potential help to women in reaching leadership positions. Networks serve to combat isolation and to provide women with access to needed information about the environements in which they exist or wish to exist. In addition, a network can create a vital support system among women who can help each other not only with information, but also with advice, mentoring, sponsorship, and moral support. A strong peer group is an important foundation upon which women can build as they move into new and sometimes inhospitable environments. Leadership posts in government, business, and eduation have traditionally and conspicuously been held by white men. Women and minorities who have joined their ranks have been few in number and conspicuous only by their absence. Even though the current climate of affirmative action and equal employment ostensibly encourages greater participation of these underrepresented groups, access routes need to be identified and smoothed, and support mechanisms developed.

Networking can help. Two programs of the American Council on Education designed to identify persons ready for leadership positions are described in this article. The *ACE Fellows Program* identifies and trains able men and women who are either contemplating a move into administration or who are at the very early stages of their administrative careers. The Council's *National Identification Program* focuses on women who are ready to assume major administrative positions at the dean's level or above. Both programs have networking as an implicit or explicit feature. And as formalized networks, they illustrate basic observations on the power and pitfalls of networking.

Networking for women is a concept that began to flower in the 1970s, a decade that marked the full development of the women's movement. It was a time when women began to realize that progress could be made, that they had made some strides toward access to jobs, equal pay, and equal rights. Affirmative action programs, cou-

pled with a growing social consciousness of the desirability of providing equal opportunities and equal access to women, were significant factors in establishing a climate that enabled women to reach for positions of leadership in society. "Reach" is a key word here, for it denotes that although equality and access were still beyond the grasp of women in many or most of our organizations and institutions, the struggle was on.

To be really useful to those who want to enter or change the power structure, a network must provide access, creating a bridge to the center of the system or at least enabling women to get to the threshold. Networking is most effective, then, for women who have made some headway, who know who the key players are and where to begin to tap in for information.

Yet, struggle implies some progress, for the most downtrodden and disenfranchised social groups often do not begin to revolt until some small measure of hope can fuel the difficult fight. Rosabeth Kanter (1978) analyzes sex roles in the corporate structure, observing that "the stuck and disadvantaged have not usually been a revolutionary force. . . . Peer groups of those with blocked mobility generally do not plot to confront the system for more mutual gain. In short, it takes some opportunity to feel there are any benefits in developing a group that can confront and try to change the system" (p. 180). Thus, the totally powerless or outcast are not very likely to mobilize networking resources to acquire information or social mobility. For those with no hope of penetrating the system, networks can serve as a sort of counter-system, providing solidarity and protection, but not access. To be really useful to those who want to enter or change the power structure, a network must provide access, creating a bridge to the center of the system or at least enabling women to get to the threshold. Networking is most effective, then, for women who have made some headway, who know who the key players are and where to begin to tap in for information. Women who already know the rules, the lay of the land, and who have the drive and self-confidence to go further, are the most likely to benefit from the resources of a network. However, all the participants in the network need not possess the same level of sophistication about the system to which they seek access. More experienced women can help each other and bring along their less seasoned colleagues. By becoming a part of the network, the uninitiated will in turn benefit from the expansion of their horizons.

Although the concept of networking is not new, it has recently been rediscovered and some rather remarkable powers attributed to it in organizational life. It is a straightforward communications device, which has been elevated by some to the status of a new religion. Women have been networking forever in their own communities, in all kinds of organizations that have traditionally been their province: social, community, volunteer, school, and religious groups. But now that networking has taken on new importance as a mechanism to penetrate former bastions of male dominance, it has acquired entirely new significance. As women have come within grasping distance of the inner circle, a time-honored social and political technique has been rediscovered.

Like the question of the role of mentors in the career progression of women, networking has occupied a prominent place in women's organizational horizons. But has women's quest for exposure and visibility obscured the classic obstacles that women must continue to overcome?

Some cautions on networking

Networking can potentially represent a triumph of form over substance, a preoccupation with contacts and lunches that can disguise or be perceived as an absence of substance or real depth. Although, in

theory, the same is true for men, the systems they preside over have treated them more kindly. Surely, men of little substance have risen through the organizational ranks by the strength of their political skills. The observations and judgments of their associates may have revealed their lack of ability or intelligence somewhere along the line, but the revelation has often not been fatal.

Because their sex does not, a priori, make them suspect or conspicuous, men are often not subject to the same conscious or unconscious scrutiny as women. Nor are their networking activities seen as forced, artificial, or manipulative. For men, networking has traditionally been viewed as an outgrowth of the substantive concerns they share. That is not to say that their political and social connections have not always been important, or consciously cultivated, but they have appeared to be a by-product of organizational life, a relatively effortless strategy. The locker room and the golf course have traditionally been places to do business; networking in these settings is a way of doing business. Social and organizational structures coincide nicely to provide opportunities for crucial, but unself-conscious networking.

In most organizations, women are not part of these easy organizational interactions. They are too few and too foreign. When women do reach the point at which the easy mix of men and women at all levels of organizations provides opportunities for painless networking, a new level of equality will have been reached. At that point, women's lists of names, file cards, and telephone campaigns (indispensable aids to the determined networker, according to the popularizers of the technique) will be superfluous, because such interactions will just happen, forced only by concerns shared by men and women alike.

Networking among women for information, support, and access is useful and important. Other women can provide counsel, moral support, and information to women whose aspirations are still unfulfilled. But a separate orbit of women is still incomplete, and will not serve to accomplish the goals of access and equality. The intersection and coincidence of the networks of men and women, of the aspiring and the established—both men and women—is what is needed to truly integrate women into the power structures to which they aspire.

Institutional networking: two successful programs.

The American Council on Education, a membership association of some 1,500 colleges and universities, sponsors two programs that have had significant impact on women's ability to move into administrative positions in colleges and universities. They provide excellent illustrations of the strengths of organized networking, and the value of the support and information systems that connect the aspiring with the established. The objectives of each of the programs are different, but both have provided visibility and opportunities for women to form networks with each other and with established leaders in education.

The ACE Fellows Program

The ACE Fellows Program in Academic Administration was established 15 years ago for the purpose of identifying and providing training experiences for men and women interested in academic administration. Fellows are nominated by the president of their institutions and approximately 35 are selected each year through a national competition from a pool of 130 to 150 candidates. In the early years, the number of women participating was minimal; indeed, only 8% of the first five classes (1965-1970) were women. In the last five classes, however, 42% of the total group have been women. Although it is encouraging to note that the number of women nominated has been increasing steadily over the years, nominations of men still outnumber those of women by nearly 2 to 1. One explanation for the preponderance of male nominees may be that presidents, largely male, are identifying men as potential leaders. The identification of similar people to fill similar roles perpetuates patterns of homogeneous and comfortable interactions. Kanter observes the importance of social homogeneity among managers to ensure easy communications.

"It was easier to talk to those of one's kind who had shared experiences—more certain, more accurate, more predictable.... Women were decidedly placed in the category of the incomprehensible and unpredictable. There were many reports that managers felt uncomfortable having to communicate with women.... This was another example of the preference for dealing with people who were similar" (p. 58). Thus, established leaders tend to identify new leaders in their own image.

Another possible explanation for the greater number of male nominees in the Fellows Program is that people who are informed about the program and secure nomination are those who are already better tied into the network—namely, men. The steady increase in the nomination and participation rate of women, however, does indicate that real progress is being made. Male presidents are nominating women in growing numbers, and one can speculate that women in the program are creating a multiplier effect by spreading the word through new networks.

The primary purpose of the Fellows Program is to enable the participants to learn about academic administration. Fellows spend a year interning with a college president and senior officers, observing and participating in all facets of institutional administration. From the primary goal, the networking component emerges easily. Fellows get to know other Fellows, both in their own class and in others. The 700 program alumni are a well-organized group who systematically get together and continue to benefit from their association with each other and the program. Fellows also develop linkages to the American Council on Education and other Washington higher education associations, and have a singular opportunity to meet leaders in higher education from all over the country. It is a national program which provides a rich variety of national exposure. ACE Fellows call on educational leaders not simply "make contacts" or network, but to learn and to explore real and substantive issues.

The National Identification Program

The American Council on Education's Office of Women in Higher Education conducts the National Identification Program to bring together on a state and national level women who are ready to assume significant leadership positions in colleges and universities and to enable them to meet and interact with men and women who are recognized educational leaders.

In 50 states, programs are under way which have identified women who are ready to move into more senior administrative positions, and which provide a statewide structure for them to meet and discuss issues of common concern. While it may be somewhat surprising that a formal networking mechanism originating in Washington would be necessary to introduce the women to each other in a state hundreds or thousands of miles away, the experience has indeed shown that such a need is there and that this approach is useful and appropriate. That such a program exists is a testimony both to the importance of women's networks and to the difficulty and work required in getting them started. The Office also sponsors a series of national meetings, which bring women from all states who are ready to move into more senior slots together with established men and women leaders in higher education. These one- or two-day meetings, or Forums as they are called, are issue oriented and provide participating women with the opportunity to interact with leaders on substantive concerns they share.

Some observations about effective networking

In both programs, the act of identifying and recognizing the capabilities of these able and ambitious people is the first and key step. Then, critical linkages are developed with others who aspire to and who are advancing towards leadership positions. Third, though not necessarily in this sequence, the network is extended to reach into the ranks of leaders who by virtue of their experience and positions can help aspiring men and women to achieve their goals. Supportive peer groups and access to the established leaders or power holders are the key elements of the two activities. At the heart are substantive

interactions which enable women to be not simply visible, but visibly able.

It is significant that these activities have their origin and base in Washington, a town with a well-earned reputation of being obsessed with networking. "Contacts" is an overused word here; they are the name of the game, the best way to get information and mobilize people. There is a lesson in the Washington experience, where the business lunch has reached legendary proportions.

Women would be well advised to approach networking with thoughtfulness and some caution. It is easy to get to know a lot of people, and ritualistically if not compulsively "touch base" with them. (The sports imagery in organizational life is not without significance. "Touching base," "end running," "team playing," "putting the ball in his court," are linguistic reflections of common experiences and culture shared by men. Women are beginning to learn the rules of those games.) Yet in spite of a growing network and circle of "contacts," women can still find themselves dismissed, ignored, or patronized. Being visible is better than being invisible, but visibility leaves a number of problems unsolved. Formidable obstacles still exist for women. To be competent and viewed as competent are of supreme importance; women are still called upon to prove their ability in greater measure than their male counterparts. It is often said that when the mediocre women do as well in this world as the mediocre men, we will have real progress.

There are traps at both ends of the spectrum; women would do well to be wary of clinging to the reassuring belief that excellence alone will help them make their way in the world, that ability will speak for itself (a belief, I conjecture, that is more prevalent among women than among men.) The opposite trap is equally dangerous: that a good network will ensure a bright future. Excellence alone will not get most women where they want to be. Belief in oneself, the ability to promote oneself and to create opportunities are important ingredients of success. But without that excellence, without those solid records that are still demanded of women just to get into the competition, all the networking in the world won't do the trick.

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Two Opportunities for Mentoring: A Study of Women's Career Development in Higher Education Administration

Elizabeth J. McNeer

This exploration study examined the influence of mentors and the mentoring system on the career development of a small sample of women chief administrators and chief academic officers in public and private (independent) coeducational colleges and universities. A two-stage pattern in the careers of these women allows two separate opportunities for mentoring relationships to influence the career development of the professional academic administrator. Women in senior faculty and administrative positions appear to be serving as both role models and mentors for other women to a greater extent than their numbers would predict.

> It is a fact of life in most organizations that many more people are qualified than can be admitted to the inner circle of leadership at any one time. Selection is necessary. The mentor is one link between the pool of qualified candidates and the inner circle (Moore, 1980, p. 4).

Through research in business and industry, Jennings (1971) established a definition of the mentoring relationship as the "winning couplet," the teaming of a senior and a junior executive who advanced through the corporate ranks together. Hennig and Jardim (1977) identified a similar pattern in the careers of one hundred top women executives. This "winning couplet," once considered the classic mentoring or sponsoring relationship, was thought to be the way women as well as men would advance in the corporate world; further research, however, revealed there is a broader range of relationships in the process of career development.

One redefinition of mentoring, developed by Dalton, Thompson, and Price (1977) in their studies of professional employees in business organizations, suggests a four-stage model including apprenticeship, craftsperson, mentor, and organization influencer. In the apprenticeship stage, individuals work under the direction of others who are supervisors or mentors; the craftsperson demonstrates his or her own competence and builds a reputation as a technically competent individual within the organization; the mentor assumes broader responsibility for guidance and development of the next generation of organizational or professional workers; and the organization influencers become a force in shaping the future of the organization as senior authority figures. Dalton, Thompson, and Price determined that many people bypass the apprenticeship stage and can never reach the stage of organization influencer without a suitable mentor.

Building upon this four-stage career development model, Phillips (1977) explored some of the factors that affect the mentoring relationship for women corporate executives. Beginning with the

assumption from previous research that women could not identify significant sponsors in their career development, Phillips discovered that to the contrary, 61% of the 331 women managers and executives who participated in her study reported one or more career mentors. In addition, a wide range of mentor types and ways of assisting the protege were reported. Phillips' concept of career mentoring differentiated those who assisted the protege in professional advancement from personal friends and associates. Further, she refined the definition to distinguish between primary and secondary mentors in terms of the protege's perception of assistance provided by the mentor. Primary mentors were defined as "significant other(s) present at critical point(s) of the protege's life who engage in activities that assist the protege to define and/or reach his or her life goals" (p. 62). Secondary mentors were those persons whose influence is perceived to have been less crucial to the protege's career development.

Levinson (1978) describes the mentoring relationship among men in business and industry as limited, with a definite ending, often with conflict between the former mentor and protege. Phillips' subjects (1977), successful women business executives, viewed the mentor and protege separation as inevitable. While some of her subjects reported a peer relationship developing, it was always after a disillusioning break had occurred. In a later study of women in the human services professions, Quinn (1980) demonstrated that lasting personal friendships seemed to form between mentors and their proteges.

In academic organizations, continuity of leadership is viewed in a professional rather than an organizational context. Internal promotion is the exception at the higher levels of academic administration, so those who mentor are usually preparing leaders for other institutions. Educational leaders are mentored or sponsored in their careers at one institution to assume positions of leadership at other institutions. A typical pattern for men who become top-level college or university administrators has been completion of a terminal degree and a solid background as a faculty member, chairperson of a department, dean or provost, and then vice president or president (Cohen & March, 1974). While not all male careers fit this pattern and the majority of male faculty members remain in faculty ranks throughout their careers, this sequence has been widely accepted as the norm.

In the early 1970s, Arter found that women administrators in land-grant colleges and state universities tended to build their careers at one institution and that their careers moved at a slower pace than those of men because the women did not relocate for advancement. In a study of sponsored mobility in Pennsylvania colleges and universities, Moore and Sagaria (1979) found that while women had been promoted from within the institution, they were also willing to move for a promotion to a top-level position. McGee (1979) found that 65.7% of women college presidents had come to the institution as president and had held no other position at that institution.

It appears that a major distinction between career ladders for higher education managers and those for corporate executives is that academic administrators move from institution to institution as they rise through the ranks, while corporate executives remain within the same company. This suggests that there may be major differences in the mentoring relationships possible for corporate executives who remain in close proximity to their former mentors, and those possible for academics who may move frequently. The often bitter breaks with mentors that business executives report may not be so prevalent in higher education, since proximity is not likely to be an issue.

A more significant difference appears to be the opportunity in an academic career for more than one mentoring relationship. Using Phillips' definition of primary career mentors as those who assist the protege at critical stages of the protege's life, there are at least two points in the career of an academic administrator which appear to be critical. The initial career socialization takes place during the lengthy graduate training period before the individual takes a junior faculty position within a college or university. This

provides the opportunity for a mentoring relationship with a senior faculty member, usually initiated by the student choosing the advisor appropriate to his or her academic speciality. Whether the advisor serves as a mentor depends both on the chemistry of the relationship and on the perceived importance assigned to the assistance provided by the advisor. Two important types of assistance appear to be socialization as a researcher in the discipline and assistance in finding the first faculty position.

A second opportunity for mentoring occurs after the protege has become a faculty member and is considering a move into administration. At this juncture, the individuals perceived as mentors are not necessarily those in authority positions, and may include friends, colleagues, family members, and students, as well as deans, presidents, and chancellors. These mentors challenge, encourage, and support the protege in the decision to seek new career direction in the area of administration.

For women administrators, the responsibility for discussing the options, describing the process, and encouraging the tentative individual to consider a career in education administration can be viewed as a part of the tasks performed by a mentor.

For women interested in careers in higher education administration, this second mentoring relationship is critical. All those who encourage and support the faculty member to explore her options are participating in a mentoring relationship. For women administrators, the responsibility for discussing the options, describing the process, and encouraging the tentative individual to consider a career in education administration can be viewed as a part of the tasks performed by a mentor.

If this model is a viable description of the role of mentoring in women's careers in higher education administration, it should be possible to identify those persons who served as career mentors both when the woman was a graduate student and when she decided upon a career in administration.

Method

This study examined the role of the mentor and the mentoring relationship in the career development of women administrators in higher education. Adopting Phillips' definitions of primary and secondary career mentors, the author broadened the types of relationships to be considered as "mentoring relationships." In order to explore all of these relationships, an interview schedule was designed to allow each subject to describe all those individuals whom she identified as important in her career development. The interview schedule was piloted and revised to provide multiple forms for each question to assist in rephrasing questions for individual subjects. The open-ended nature of the interview questions allowed exploration of those aspects of each subject's career which were most relevant to the examination of career patterns and roles of mentors and mentoring.

Subjects

The population for this study was defined as all women in chief administrative and chief academic administrative positions in four-year coeducational colleges and universities in the six-state Great Lakes region including Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Only women who held the major leadership positions during 1980 were included in this study. According to the

Educational Directory: College and Universities, 1978-79, there were thirteen women in the identified positions. Initial contact revealed that three were no longer employed by an institution in the region; two others had been appointed to chief administrative positions in the region since the publication of the directory. The corrected population for this study was twelve women. These administrators were contacted by letter asking for their cooperation in the study. A telephone call followed the initial contact. Nine of the twelve agreed to be interviewed; they constituted a self-selected sample. Interviews were scheduled in the office of each subject during the summer of 1980.

The nine women administrators represented eight institutions and one statewide system. Two of the institutions were private (independent) and the other six were public. Three granted only a baccalaureate degree; four granted master's degrees; one was a major doctorate-granting institution. Four of the eight institutions had enrollments of fewer than 2,000 students; seven had fewer than 12,000 students; and one more than 50,000 students.

The median age of the women administrators was 44 (range 35 to 60). One woman was a member of a religious order; of the remaining eight, four had been married; two had children. Eight of the nine had been in the present position for less than four years. All had an earned doctorate; only one had taught for less than ten years before being promoted to an academic administrative position.

Two of the women had been promoted from within their institutions. One woman, a member of a religious order, had spent her entire work history at one institution; the other came to her institution as vice president and was then promoted to president. Six of the remaining seven had moved from other states to accept their present positions. Two of the six brought husbands with them; one of the six brought a family with school-age children. The subjects themselves suggested that contrary to past assumptions, women are willing to move in order to advance their careers and that their families are supportive of such moves.

Findings

Eight of the nine women in this study could readily name a significant person who had contributed to their career development. Two categorized these "others" as role models or guides rather than as mentors. Six could identify at least one mentor who had had a significant influence upon their careers.

Four of the six women considered faculty advisors in their graduate studies as significant factors in their socialization, job placement and success as a faculty member. All six could also identify persons who influenced their move into administration. Four of the six would not have sought such positions without the encouragement provided by this mentor. Two women who knew they wanted to seek administrative appointments identified and sought support from a sponsor who provided assistance in the move from the faculty ranks to administration.

Of the thirty-four individual mentors identified in this study, eighteen were considered primary mentors and fourteen secondary. Those individuals whose influence was central to an individual's career development are recalled specifically by their proteges. Thirteen of the thirty-four people named as mentors in this study were women. Six of these women were considered primary mentors by their proteges. Two were faculty and/or administrators at the protege's undergraduate woman's college. Three of the six were graduate school advisors and the other three provided assistance later in the proteges' careers as they sought positions in academic administration. That so many women served as mentors appears to contradict the myth that women do not assist other women.

Age of mentor and protege does not appear to be a factor in the development of the relationship. Graduate students were all younger than their faculty advisor mentors, but often the mentors who assisted the subjects with their administrative career change were colleagues of the same age. Continuing relationships that become friendships were identified and viewed as valuable. Career assistance, now mutual, was also reported as

part of the friendship. None of the women reported problems caused by the gender of the mentor. Two of the women described their mentors as fatherly older men whom Levinson would describe as "parenting" their proteges.

When asked about their career development and potential barriers they might have encountered, these women identified the role of women in society as a problem, but cited the effects of the women's movement as having enhanced their advancement possibilities. One subject reported that she spent too much of her life "doing womanly things" and that her career pace was slowed because of that. Eight of the nine moved at the pace best for them as individuals. The same number identified at least one person who had sought them out, encouraged them, nominated them, and challenged them to seek an administrative position at a time when this was not a traditional role for women.

Discussion

Mentoring has been defined as a form of adult socialization used to develop organizational leaders. Interviews with the limited sample of women administrators in this study suggest that mentoring appears to be a practice used to develop leaders in both faculty and administrative positions in higher education. The concept of mentoring is an individual one which seems to be described differently by each person interviewed.

When the experiences of these women in higher education were compared to the career models developed by Dalton, Thompson, and Price, and by Phillips, a redefinition was required. Rather than progressing through the four stages evident in a business career, academic careers appear to evolve in two separate three-stage segments. The first part of the model begins with the graduate student experience in which an advisor may serve the function of mentor. A mentor at this stage assists the protege with socialization as an emerging faculty member. Then the protege becomes a full-fledged contributor and moves away from the mentor. As advancement in rank occurs, she begins advising graduate students, helps more junior faculty members, and becomes a mentor and policymaker within the top ranks of the faculty.

At this point, a second three-stage segment evolves for those who move into administrative positions. Here the individuals who are perceived as mentors are not necessarily those in positions superior to the faculty member. Friends, colleagues, family members, and students, as well as deans, presidents, and chancellors, are often perceived as challenging, encouraging, and supporting the individuals' redefining of a career choice. These types of mentors fall along the helping continuum described by Shapiro, Rowe, and Hazeltine (1978) and labeled as the "Patron System." Following Phillips' definition of career mentors, it is not the type of assistance or the status of the mentor which is the determining factor, but rather the importance placed upon that assistance by the protege.

The variables that appear to influence the success of the mentoring relationship are: the relationship itself (attitudes of the participants, their needs, characteristics, and willingness to participate); kinds of help requested and given, and its impact; and the timing of the experience, both in terms of the protege's career and the organizational environment. Career mentors, as distinguished from personal mentors, can be further divided between primary and secondary mentors, in terms of the protege's perception of the assistance provided. Primary mentors are those persons whose influence is perceived to have been present at critical career stages. Secondary mentors are those whose assistance the protege viewed as less crucial to career development but supportive of goals and decisions.

The women identified a number of ways in which both their primary and secondary mentors assisted them. Included were encouragement/recognition, instruction/training, friendship, opportunities/responsibilities, advice/counsel, inspiration/role modeling, and visibility. In each woman's experience, at least one mentor stated high expectations, pushed her to excel, pointed out options, and took "parental" pride in her career develop-

ment. Only one subject dealt with the issue of cross-gender mentoring. She did not identify any particular problems. For her, the mutual respect, intelligence, abilities, and willingness to do the hard work required in academic research left no room for sexual issues or problems. Contrary to Quinn's finding, the gender of the mentor does not appear to hamper continuation of the mentor/protege relationship for this small sample; strong continuing friendships were reported with both male and female mentors.

The mentoring of executives in business and industry has identified differences both in length of time elapsed before reaching career goals and in attitudes toward the organization expressed by people who had mentors and those who did not. In the sample of women college administrators, it was not possible to make such a distinction. The four subjects who did not identify primary mentors moved into administration as quickly as those reporting assistance from primary mentors. The subjects seemed to feel that society's attitudes about the role of women and the effect of the women's movement on career possibilities for women were more significant measures of their success in reaching their career goals. The importance of mentors was found in the challenge to excel and in the positive support for achieving their career goals.

The differences between the career patterns of executives in business and industry and in higher education may account for differences in continuing mentor relationships. Careers in business and industry are often made within a single corporation. Continued close relationship with former mentors may strain the relationship. In educational organizations, where career mobility is the norm, distance may allow for an ease in transition from the mentor-protege relationship to a peer relationship. Several subjects commented on the importance of these ongoing relationships which developed into peer relationships as they moved on to new positions at other institutions. One subject regretted that a former mentor cut her off when she attempted to make the transition, but she noted this was the mentor's inability to make the transition with any of his proteges, not a failing in herself. Distance can also allow the mentor-protege relationship to continue over time. One subject still discusses personal career decisions with her mentor in another state. The period of time each subject has maintained a relationship with each individual whom she described as a primary mentor ranged from one year to more than twenty years.

Leadership development has not been recognized as an important activity in educational organizations. While maintaining the "amateurist" mystique, informal training in the form of a mentor-protege relationship occurs. Although mentoring will not open the way to an administrative career for a woman who lacks appropriate skills and background, there are women on each academic campus with the skills and abilities for leadership. One critical factor in the development of this administrative potential is the challenge and support of a mentor.

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Mentoring Relationships and the Perceived Quality of the Academic Work Environment

Deborah L. Fowler

The purpose of this study was to obtain information on differences by sex among assistant professors regarding mentoring relationships and current work environment. There were no significant differences in the number or quality of mentoring relationships between the male and female assistant professors in the study. Females were significantly more likely than males to perceive sex discrimination in the work environment, yet there were no significant differences in perceptions of support or lack of support from colleagues within the department, collegiality, and awareness and use of the informal network.

Women have made strides in obtaining faculty positions in higher education. Researchers and practitioners are now interested in women's career progress within these institutions. Career advancement has been found to depend to a large extent on the skills and abilities of professionals, yet the structure and character of the organization are also important. Mentoring relationships have been described as one way for the young professional to obtain support in an organization and to learn the implicit and explicit ways in which the organization functions. The purpose of this study was to obtain information on the nature of mentoring relationships for the young professional in higher education, the assistant professor. Because of the research which has found sex differences in participation in mentoring relationships, a major question was whether male and female assistant professors had equal access to the benefits of these relationships.

Since mentoring relationships exist within the informal or social system in an organization, a second focus of the study was the perceptions of the assistant professors regarding the quality of their work environments. Several authors have stated the importance of understanding the informal system within the organization and being able to use it to one's advantage (Epstein, 1970; Hennig & Jardim, 1977; Kanter, 1977). Hennig and Jardim interviewed more than 100 women managers in banking and other industries nationwide and found that none of them talked about the informal system: the need to make what they wanted known to people who mattered; the need to win the support of bosses, peers, and subordinates; the need to know as much as possible about the political system within the organization; the need for visibility and risk-taking.

According to Levinson (1978), who recently expanded on the definition of mentoring, it is one of the most complex and developmentally important relationships a person can have in early adulthood. A mentor is ordinarily several years older, a person of greater experience

and seniority. A mentoring relationship may be formal in nature, situated in a work setting, where the mentoring functions are carried out by a teacher, boss, or senior colleague. It may be informal, with the mentor being a friend, relative, or neighbor. Mentoring is not defined in terms of formal roles but rather in relation to the quality or nature of the relationship and the functions it serves.

The six mentoring functions identified by Levinson are: *teacher,* who enhances the skills and intellectual development of the young person; *sponsor,* who uses influence to facilitate the young person's entry and advancement; *host and guide,* who welcomes the initiate into the new occupational and social world, and acquaints the initiate with its values, customs, resources, and cast of characters; *exemplar,* who serves as a model that the young person admires and seeks to emulate because of his or her virtues, achievements, and way of living; *counselor,* who provides advice and moral support in times of stress; and *realization of the dream,* who helps to define the newly emerging self by supporting and facilitating the young person's dream, by believing in the person and by giving the dream his or her blessing.

Addressing mentoring for women, Levinson says that female mentors are scarce, especially in the world of work. Women who might serve as mentors may be caught up in furthering their own careers. Some young women have male teachers or bosses who act as mentors. Cross-gender mentoring can be of value, but its value is often limited by "the tendency, frequently operating in both of them, to make her less than she is: to regard her as attractive but not gifted; a gifted woman whose sexual attractiveness interferes with work and friendship; an intelligent, but impersonal pseudomale; a charming little girl who cannot be taken seriously" (Levinson, 1978, p. 98). In principle, though, a mentor may be either of the same or opposite gender.

There is a critical lack of systematic evidence on mentoring relationships for women in higher education, especially in view of the importance of these relationships in the development of a professional identity and in career advancement. One ingenious study (Kaufman, 1978) examined collegial relationships in academe. The sample consisted of male and female professors in a college of human ecology in a large northeastern university. Data were collected from questionnaires and interviews; each respondent was used as an anchor point for determining the colleague-friend networks within the college.

The results reveal some interesting information on professional relationships. Both sexes were found to have predominantly same-sex networks. Unmarried female professors had fewer males in their network than either married women or men. Among assistant professors, males were more likely than females to have at least half their network consist of colleagues of higher rank than themselves. Twenty-seven percent of the females compared to 12 percent of the males had networks in which at least half of those named had research interests different from their own. Thirty-three percent of the women compared to 21 percent of the men felt that not even one of their colleague-friends had been important to them professionally, and they did not collaborate, teach, or do research with them.

In summary, Kaufman found female faculty less likely to include superordinates or those with similar research interests in their networks, or to claim their colleague-friends were professionally important to them. This study raises some interesting questions and concerns about women's professional relationships in academe. In attempting to shed light on some of these issues, the purpose of the present research was to seek information on sex differences in participation in mentoring relationships and aspects of the informal organization in an academic work setting.

Method

Male and female assistant professors in a prestigious, research-oriented institution of higher education were interviewed to obtain information on their career development, mentoring relationships, and various aspects of their current work environments.

Subjects

Thirty assistant professors (19 males and 11 females) were interviewed. The rank of assistant professor was chosen over other ranks because it was believed that this group would be most likely to be involved in mentoring relationships, and because they were in the process of becoming integrated into the academic community. Only tenure-track assistant professors whose appointment was greater than 50 percent time in their major department were included.

The assistant professors were chosen from colleges which encompassed a variety of disciplines. None was a traditionally female field; one could be considered traditionally male; the others were mixed. A total of 38 assistant professors (24 males and 14 females) were contacted for interviews, yielding a response rate of 79 percent.

Procedure

The assistant professors were contacted by a letter explaining the study and requesting their participation. A phone call was subsequently made to set up an interview appointment.

An in-depth structured interview schedule was used. As a research technique, the interview format has been criticized for being biased and time-consuming, yet it is recommended for obtaining sensitive data in the exploratory stages of research (Cannell & Kahn, 1968). The general areas of information sought in the structured interview were: mentoring relationships—identification of important persons who have influenced them professionally, the nature of the relationships, and any problems; aspects of the current position, such as amount of time spent in teaching, research, and service; rewards and frustrations with their current position; and reactions to promotion, tenure, and salary review process. The interviews were generally one to two hours in length. Interview responses were recorded verbatim by hand rather than tape-recorded because of the sensitive and political nature of the data. It is interesting that interviewees were quite willing to discuss openly their perceptions of their work environment and career development. The researcher interviewed all 30 assistant professors to control for interviewer bias.

A content analysis was performed on the interview data for the purposes of quantifying and rating the data. Two independent raters were hired to do the content analysis and were trained by the researcher prior to the actual rating. The raters were blind to the sex of the subject, except in a few cases where deleting the sex-identifying information would have negated the comment (i.e., "I was the first woman to get a Ph.D. in my field."). Interrater reliability was 89 percent. After the data were quantified and coded, statistical tests were used to test for differences between the male and female assistant professors.

Results

Mentoring Relationships

In the interviews, the assistant professors were asked to describe each mentoring relationship in which they had been, and were currently involved. To determine whether there were differences between the male and female assistant professor in terms of involvement in mentoring relationships, a one-tailed t test was performed on the mean number of mentoring relationships for each group. Means were 3.26 for males and 3.64 for females. There was no significant difference ($t(28) = -.62$) in the number of mentoring relationships between the male and female assistant professors.

After describing each of their mentoring relationships, the assistant professors were given a sheet with definitions of Levinson's six mentoring functions (teacher, sponsor, host and guide, exemplar, counselor, and realization of the dream) and asked to choose as many functions as were appropriate in describing each mentoring relationship. These ratings provided data on the quality of the mentoring relationships. A chi-square test was used to determine whether there was a difference in the total number of mentoring functions provided by each of

the mentors. For the male assistant professors, 16 mentors provided one function; 17, two functions; 15, three functions; 9, four functions; 2, five functions; and 2, six functions. For female assistant professors, the respective numbers were 17, 9, 8, 4, 2, and 0. The result of the chi-square test was not significant ($x^2(6) = 8.87$). Therefore, there was no significant difference found in the number of mentoring functions provided by the mentors of the male and female assistant professors.

A second chi-square test was used to determine whether there was a significant difference in the types of functions provided by the mentors of the male and female assistant professors. For the male assistant professors, the number of mentors who provided each of the six mentoring functions were: teacher—40, sponsor—24, host and guide—20, exemplar—20, counselor—16, realization of the dream—16. The respective numbers of the mentors who provided each of the six mentoring functions for the female assistant professors were: 24, 15, 9, 15, 11, and 6. The chi-square test showed no significant difference in the types of functions provided by the mentors of the male and female assistant professors ($x^2(6) = 1.22$).

Quality of the Academic Work Environment

A second purpose of this study was to obtain information on the perceived quality of work life in the departments. The interview data on the current work environments of the sample were content analyzed and nine categories were established. A statistical test for differences in the proportion of responses of the male and female assistant professors was performed for each category. The nine categories are described below.

Positive Outlook/Attitude. The data for this category were responses to questions on the interview concerning perceived chance of promotion and career projections. Eighty-nine percent of the male assistant professors and 100 percent of the female assistant professors had a positive outlook concerning their professional future ($z = 1.14$, non-significant).

Negative Outlook/Attitude. Sixteen percent of the male assistant professors and 18 percent of the female assistant professors made statements that demonstrated a negative outlook or attitude. The test for proportional differences was non-significant ($z = .77$).

Feeling of Support within Department. More than 25 percent of both male and female assistant professors described getting help writing papers, emotional or moral support, or other benefits from colleagues in the department. There was no significant difference between the two groups ($z = .06$).

Feeling of Lack of Support within Department. This category was defined as a noticeable lack of assistance and support from colleagues. Only those persons who explicitly commented on a lack of support were included. Five percent of the men and 27 percent of the women reported a lack of support by comments such as, "I haven't gotten much help," or "Other people are getting breaks." There was no significant difference between the males and females ($z = 1.76$).

Sense of Collegiality. The subjects were asked during the interview to describe their formal and informal relationships with their colleagues. An overwhelming percentage of the faculty (84 percent of the males and 100 percent of the females) felt their collegial relationships were good. The two groups did not differ significantly ($z = .71$).

Lack of Collegiality. A noticeable lack of good working and/or social relationships with other faculty was included in this category. None of the females and 11 percent of the males in the sample reported a lack of collegiality.

Awareness of the Informal Network. Subjects were asked how influential they were on a formal and informal basis to determine awareness of the informal network (e.g., knowing people in power to go to when one needs something or finding support for ideas by talking to others informally outside of the established channels, such as faculty meetings). Seventy-nine percent of the male assistant professors and 55 percent of the female assistant professors stated an

awareness of the informal network. The test for proportional differences was not significant (z = 1.38).

Use of the Informal Network. Fifty-eight percent of the male assistant professors compared to 27 percent of the female assistant professors reported that they used the informal network described above, although this difference was not significant (z = 1.59).

Perception of Discrimination. There was a significant difference between the male and female assistant professors in their perception of discrimination. The most common type of discrimination cited was sex discrimination; females were significantly more likely than males to perceive discrimination against them in their work environments. Fifty-five percent of the females compared to 5 percent of the males perceived discrimination (z = 3.10, $p < .01$).

One woman described her perceptions of discrimination poignantly:

> I feel there is a lack of sensitivity from both the men and women for the difficulty of making it in the system. I am a marginal person—being the first woman in the department who is doing research. I feel different from the previous women in the department but I will never be accepted as one of the boys.... The department has not had a woman successful in the promotion and tenure process for a long time. I feel there is pressure for me to succeed, yet I've been getting mixed messages. I will never know the real quality of my work. The criteria slip and slide with me. Some feel I will be promoted just because I am a woman.

Discussion

Mentoring relationships have been found to be critically important for the developing professional, yet very little research has been done in the area of mentoring relationships for women. Levinson's study involved only male subjects, yet he hypothesized that females would have fewer mentoring relationships than males. The findings of the present study showed no significant differences in either the number or quality of mentoring relationships between male and female assistant professors at a prestigious Midwestern university. It may be that the sample for this study was highly select. Given the competition in the academic job market, only the very best candidates obtain positions in the prestigious research-oriented institutions. Perhaps, these assistant professors (males and females) have received support and assistance throughout their academic careers.

Mentoring relationships have been found to be critically important for the developing professional, yet very little research has been done in the area of mentoring relationships for women.

Another plausible explanation is that the literature on mentoring relationships for women is incomplete and thus inconclusive. This explanation seems reasonable when one considers that the topic is relatively new, and very few good studies have been done thus far. The studies done by Kanter (1977) and Hennig and Jardim (1977) involved business and industry. Perhaps these organizations differ in a way that would make mentoring relationships for women less available in business than in academia. The traditional notion of the business world as male dominated and conservative may be relevant, but more research is needed to compare the differences in the support systems for the young professional of both sexes in a variety of work environments.

Women in the sample were significantly more likely to perceive discrimination in their working environment than men. This finding supports previous research in academe (Ferber & Loeb, 1973; Liss, 1975). The study did not address the actual incidences of discrimination, yet the male-oriented and male-dominated structure of higher education documented by Tidball (1976) provides at least a

partial understanding of how discrimination against women might occur. In this sample, the female assistant professors seemed to perceive sex discrimination more in the dealing with their peers or colleagues than their superordinates who were in the position of controlling such things as salary and course schedules.

The interview subjects indicated that their mentoring relationships had been beneficial to them in their professional development. All of the assistant professors in the sample had had at least one mentor, and some had as many as six mentors. Young professionals should be encouraged to initiate mentoring relationships with older, more experienced persons who may provide support and assistance for them in their career development.

Some research in business has found women to be either unaware of the informal organization (Hennig & Jardim, 1977) or not involved in collegial relationships to the same extent as men (Epstein, 1970). In this study, no sex differences were found between the assistant professors in outlook, support, collegiality, or involvement in the informal network. According to Cartter and Ruhter (1975) and Bayer and Astin (1975), discrimination against women in initial job placement in academia has disappeared. It could be that women are more readily accepted into the academic community at the assistant professor level, but that with increasing time in the organization, discrimination or exclusion from informal networks is felt more strongly (Ekstrom, 1979). The interview sample for this study included only assistant professors; thus, the issue of what happens to female professors after a number of years in the system was not addressed.

With the exception of perceived discrimination for female assistant professors, the findings of this study present a relatively positive picture of the quality of work life for this group of academic women in comparison to their male peers. Although by no means conclusive, the findings suggest that females are in positions similar to those of their male colleagues at the assistant professor level in the research-oriented institution under study. They share the same concerns and pressures, as well as the same benefits and supports.

The importance of women being successful in the academic community cannot be understated. The woman professor potentially serves as a role model for her students, providing the necessary and beneficial mentoring functions. Further information is needed on the quality of work life in the academic community. Although initial job placement discrimination against women in academia may have disappeared, the career advancement of women depends primarily on peer review within academic departments and schools. An important test of true equity is whether women with the same qualifications and accomplishments as men are advanced and remunerated in an equitable fashion throughout their professional careers (Cartter, 1976).

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Access for Minorities and Women to Administrative Leadership Positions: Influence of the Search Committee

Betty F. Fulton

The number of minority and women administrators in higher education is small. This study focuses on search committees and their willingness to recommend minorities and women as chairpersons and deans. Questionnaires were sent to 337 persons who chaired nationwide searches for such positions during the 1981-82 academic year. Responses revealed that while search committees supported the candidacies of minorities and women, administrators frequently did not follow through with appointment.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, subsequent Executive Orders, and Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972 prohibit discrimination on the basis of race or sex in federally assisted education programs or activities. Yet in colleges and universities, minorities and women are not well represented either at the highest faculty ranks or in positions of administrative leadership. The percentage of black faculty in higher education remained approximately 3% between 1960 and 1975, which was the last date for which statistics could be obtained. There has been some shifting, with the percentage declining at predominantly black institutions and increasing at the traditionally white colleges and universities (Finkelstein, 1982). Although 26% of total faculty are women ("Degree Completion," 1981), this is still less than the peak 28% in 1929-30. According to Finkelstein, studies have revealed that minorities and women are usually in the lower academic ranks. Upward mobility is slower for them than it is for white males; only 10% of full professors are women, an increase of just 1% since 1972 ("Title IX at X," 1982).

A 1975-76 study of 52 administrative positions at 1,037 institutions of higher education revealed that 79% were filled by white men, 14% by white women, 5% by minority men, and 2% by minority women. Furthermore, the greatest numbers of minorities and women were at institutions with largely minority or female student bodies (VanAlstyne et al., 1977). A more recent survey of more than 3,000 college and university administrators found that 91.8% were white, 5.4% were black, and 2.8% were other minorities. Approximately 20% of those surveyed were women. Both women and black administrators were concentrated in such positions as head librarian, registrar, and director of financial aids. As reported in earlier studies, men were employed in the larger, comprehensive institutions, while women usually were not (The Pennsylvania State University, 1982).

The foregoing facts indicate some increase in the appointment of minorities and women to certain administrative positions; however, progress to higher levels has been minimal.

At many institutions, administrators have traditionally been appointed by senior administrators who act with very little formal input from faculty, students, and other affected groups. The search committee composed of these various constituencies has evolved only recently with the democratization of the appointment process. Reid and Rogers (1981) provide a good summary and analysis of the literature on search comittees. Their study, which dealt with the selection of chief academic officers (provosts or vice presidents of academic affairs) revealed that search committees and search committee chairs listed administrative experience as the most important credential for the position and that experience was normally obtained either as chairperson or dean.

Accepting the premise that access to the chief academic office is via the chairperson or deanship route, the study described in this article focused on the accessibility of those positions to minorities and women; it specifically sought to identify the willingness of search committees to recommend minority and women candidates. Although the writer's initial assumption, which is shared by VanderWaerdt (1982) and others, was that search committees may have evolved into just one more obstacle to frustrate minorities and women seeking to move up the administrative ladder, the results obtained do not support this contention.

Methodology

Subjects

Questionnaires were sent to chairpersons of committees conducting 337 searches at four-year public or independent institutions during the 1981-82 academic year. The list, which was compiled from advertisements in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, represented a broad cross section of disciplines.

All searches for chairperson and academic dean at public or independent four-year institutions were included, except for the positions of graduate and continuing education deans. These were omitted since they frequently do not entail the line responsibilities inherent in the other positions and thus may not be perceived as providing the administrative experience necessary for progress to higher administrative office.

The survey group was further limited to public or independent four-year institutions where minorities and women have historically been the most underrepresented. Exclusion of religious and two-year institutions reduced the likelihood that differing credentials, such as religious affiliation or possession of a teacher's certificate, might be a requirement in some searches but not in others.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire solicited institutional data regarding size of student body, number of faculty in the unit involved, and size of the community in which the institution was located or to which it was adjacent. It was felt these might be factors in attracting women and minorities as well as in their selection.

Questions regarding committee composition and the manner in which the committee was selected were used to obtain a committee membership profile. Also, it was thought that faculty-dominated committees might behave differently from administration-dominated committees, and elected committees differently from appointed committees.

Since much of the literature supports the proposition that the pool of minority and women applicants is small, an attempt was made to determine their representation in the applicant pool. To fully assess the impact of the search committee, recommendations should be compared with the composition of the available pool. Finally, the selection of minorities and women was compared to the committees' recommendations of minorities and women.

In order to obtain a reasonable number of responses, two follow-ups were necessary. Most of those responding to the second request indicated that the searches had not been completed; therefore, the last follow-up requested committee chairs to provide whatever information they could if the search had not been finished and to indicate the status of the search.

Results

Some 219 (65%) of the questionnaires were returned; however, only 180 were fully usable. Of the 39 others, 7 searches had been cancelled before the committees made recommendations, 19 were cancelled or reopened after the committees' recommendations, 10 were still incomplete, and 3 provided little or no information citing Affirmative Action considerations. The returns represented 101 searches for chairpersons and 113 for deans at 176 public and 33 independent institutions. Institutional data indicated that student body size, unit size, and community size were all fairly evenly distributed in the designated categories.

Information was provided for 209 search committees. Of these, 197 (94%) were classified as faculty dominated on the basis that 50% or more of the membership was faculty. At least half of the committees included members who were neither faculty nor administrators. Most common was the inclusion of one or sometimes two students. A number of search committees, especially in business and the health fields, included outside professionals. In fact, administrators and/or outside representatives were more numerous than faculty representatives only on business search committees. Of the total, 46 (22%) of the search committees were all faculty and 27 were totally elected. The latter were largely chairperson searches in which the department or a part of the department served as the committee. More than half the committees were totally appointed by a higher administrator; for two-thirds of the committees, over half the membership was appointed. Neither the committee composition nor the method of its selection appeared to have any discernible effect on its recommendations.

As to the representation of minorities and women on search committees, the findings of 30% women and 10% minorities were consistent with the results of research by Reid and Rogers (1981). However, if nursing and home economics, which have traditionally been dominated by women, are eliminated, the percentage of women falls to less than 25%. Furthermore, approximately 18% of the committees included no women. While most of these were in business and sciences, the number also included political science and education. While varying in size from 2 to 17, most committees had 5 to 8 members.

The most disappointing, although not unanticipated, result was the dearth of information on blacks and other minorities in the pool. Many of the respondents indicated they did not know the number of black and other minority applicants because the applications did not give race and/or because the Affirmative Action office did not make the information available to the committee. Those whose institutions collect data on the applicant pool and who made the trip to the Affirmative Action office to get the data could not be much more helpful. Some indicated only about 40% of the applicants returned the Affirmative Action inquiries, although a few indicated an 80% or more response. Consequently, nothing could be concluded regarding the percentage of blacks or other minorities in the pool. However, 5.1% of the finalists were black and 2.7% other minorities. Blacks were recommended in 30 searches, of which 2 were cancelled or incomplete; therefore, blacks were recommended in 15.5% of the total completed searches. Other minorities were recommended in 20 (11.1%) of the completed searches.

Respondents expressed greater confidence in providing information on the number of women in the pool although a few said they did not know. There were no women in 23.4% of the searches.

Of the 10,274 applicants, 1,234 (12%) were women; however, if the applicants in nursing and home economics are eliminated, this percentage declines to 10. Women were recommended in 80 searches, of which eight were cancelled, reopened, or incomplete. The remaining 72 represent 40% of the completed searches and 33% outside nursing and home economics. Although women were only 12% of the available pool, they represented 15.3% of the recommended group. Furthermore, women were recommended in 50.9% of the searches in which they applied.

Over 40% of the committees said they did not rank order finalists. Information as to how the finalists were ranked was

not requested. Although some committees recommended fewer and some more, most committees recommended three to five finalists.

Since the ultimate test is appointment, it was necessary to look at what disposition was made of search committee recommendations. Black candidates were selected in 10 (5.5%) of the searches. One of these was a woman. Other minorities, including two women, were selected in nine (5%) of the other searches. In all but two cases, these were Hispanics and the institutions were located where one would expect to find large Hispanic populations. The two remaining successful minority candidates were listed as Asian or Pacific Islander. Women were chosen in 31 (17%) of the completed searches; however, 19 of these were in nursing and home economics. The remaining 12 represented 7.5% of searches outside nursing and home economics. While institution size, unit size, or community size seemed unimportant where women and minorities were concerned, most blacks were selected in or adjacent to large communities. Of the completed searches, 65% were filled by external candidates.

Summary

Although the pools of black and other minority candidates are unknown, they represented 5.1% and 2.7% of all finalists. Although black candidates were recommended in 15.5% of all searches, and other minority candidates in 11.1%, they were selected in only 5.5% and 5% of the searches respectively. This seems consistent with a study of hiring at 191 colleges and universities by Shoemaker and McKeen (1975), who found that although 20% of the qualified black applicants versus 6% of the qualified white applicants were interviewed, only 6% of the minority interviewees were hired.

The pool of women candidates was small; 12% of total applicants were women and only 10% of them were in fields other than nursing and home economics. Women were recommended in 40% of all searches (50.9% of the searches in which they applied), and selected in 17% of the searches. If nursing and home economics are eliminated, the number of searches in which women were recommended declines to one third; women were selected in only 7.5% of these searches.

Clearly the search committee has not created an obstacle for the advancement of blacks, other minorities, and women. In fact, committees have been very supportive of their candidacies. While more research needs to be undertaken to accurately determine the size of the black and other minority pools, these are likely to be as small as or smaller than the pool of women applicants. Two major obstacles exist to the advancement of these groups. The first is the small size of the pool coupled with the total lack of black, other minority, or women candidates in some searches. The second is the failure of administrators to appoint such candidates when they are recommended. A number of earlier studies concluded that although Affirmative Action requires institutions to consider minorities and women, it has not resulted in increased hiring. (See Amsden & Moser, 1975; Shoemaker & McKeen, 1975; Steele & Green, 1976; and Thornberry, 1978.) Unless the assumption can be made that minorities and women interviewed and recommended are unqualified, college and university administrators responsible for appointments must shoulder the responsibility for failing to increase the percentages of blacks, other minorities, and women in higher education administration.

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The Black Professional Woman: Psychological Consequences of Social and Educational Inequities upon the Achievement of High-Status Careers in Leadership Positions

Joyce Jones and Olga Welch

Any discussion of the black professional woman must be a discussion of the twin barriers of race and sex on career opportunities. The psychological burden of living with a false image imposed by society, yet struggling to maintain one's identity, has been a heavy burden for black women. Psychological defense mechanisms have helped them through strenuous periods at great expense emotionally and at times even physically. A complete reexamination of our current school systems and traditional programs is necessary if we are to begin to deal effectively with social and educational inequities currently inherent in the American socialization process.

For several years, the "self-hatred" theory evolving from the classic Clark and Clark study (1947) of racial identification and preference among black children has been a source of controversy among researchers. Some of these individuals suggest that blacks traditionally identify with the "majority" race, consequently rejecting themselves and their heritage. Contemporary studies have provided arguments to the contrary and advanced alternative explanations for earlier research findings and have suggested new trends which provide more accurate indications of racial preference (Hraba, 1972; Hraba and Grant, 1970; Nobles, 1973; Baldwin, 1979).

More complex issues are involved in producing the differential roles of black women and men as evolving from a "black process." "Black process" is defined here as an integration of Lerone Bennett's original concept of the term and other important variables contributing to sex role development (Hanson, 1974).

The trauma of being first free in Africa, then displaced from that freedom and all that it afforded, and being physically and mentally enslaved had clearly a significant influence on the black woman's psychological development early in this nation's history. Her state of mental health has to be questioned when the historically oppressive, humiliating experiences which befell all black women are taken into consideration. Traditionally, non-blacks have tried to define black women; consequently, there are many relevant and dangerous myths and misconceptions about who the black woman really is.

Their identities inevitably determined and influenced by the male referent, women have been defined as an "other"

or only in reference to men. Thus, women had identities or rights granted only through this definition — a definition which, while enhancing the significance of the reference group, dehumanized the self-image of "the other"; as analogous to the very early erroneous description and treatment by male physicians of "hysteria" as a female illness involving a wandering uterus (Veith, 1965).

Any discussion of the black professional woman must be a discussion of the twin barriers of race and sex on career opportunities.

The oppressive effect of this process is clearly evidenced by the negligible number of women in positions of economic and social authority. A group cannot develop leadership ability when it is relegated to powerless positions. Several studies by women of the corporate structure suggest that while the socialization process of males prepares them to occupy managerial or administrative roles —e.g., competitive sports — that same process prepares their female counterparts to occupy more traditional ones. These roles have produced a correspondingly negative self-image. For white women, this image was sexual, for black women it was both sexual and racial. Thus, any discussion of the black professional woman must be a discussion of the twin barriers of race and sex on career opportunities. Indeed, for the American black professional female, the situation is one of double jeopardy.

Historical Perspectives

Early in our history, the political and economic institution of slavery reduced the role of the African black woman and she found herself subjected to all kinds of mental and physical abuses. The literary portrayal — e.g., Walker, 1966 — of the black woman during slavery depicted her as a "hard" woman who somehow "adjusted" or resisted her predetermined role in society (Katz, 1962). Somehow through the years, this image of the black woman as a hard, overly aggressive, superstrong, sexpot has continued to taunt her. Whether grounded in reality or not, the psychological burden of living with this image and yet struggling to maintain one's identity has been a burden even the contemporary black woman continues to bear. Through Emancipation, Reconstruction, the Civil Rights Movement, and the "Black is Beautiful" Era of the 1960s, the black woman has "Survived." Surely the psychological defense mechanisms of black women have helped them through these historical landmarks, both physically and psychologically — but in what state and at what expense?

Often the black woman has been accused, however unjustly, of retarding the progress of the black man in her own selfish pursuits of self-improvement and economic security. An old, oft-cited myth that has also survived suggests that black women are better educated than black men, that they have received their education at the expense of black men and are less threatening to the dominant power structure. The existing evidence, however, suggests that black women in general, have not been better educated than black men (Jackson, 1973; Scott, 1977). If better educated is also related to greater access to employment opportunities, then it becomes clear that black women are far behind. Scott (1977) provides convincing evidence in support of this argument. Indeed, it appears that as a result of living in a racist and sexist society, some black women receiving a college education have been even more restricted than males.

Perhaps nowhere is this position of double jeopardy more strikingly illustrated than in the area of administration. Traditionally, both blacks and white women have been excluded from leadership positions on the basis of ascribed charac-

teristics and stereotyped status; leaving the impression that neither could occupy any significantly powerful position in society. Thus, the independent, career-oriented, black woman represented a contradiction in terms, which must be denigrated. Her aggressiveness and ambition, normally highly desirable administrative traits, had to be re-defined so that they bore negative rather than positive connotations. The "macho" black woman with her unfeminine assertiveness is one product of this labeling process.

In addition, some researchers have suggested that many of the problems faced by women executives stem from the dominant group's assertion that only domineering unfeminine, women aspire to positions unsuited to their "natures" (Henning, 1976). Whether one accepts this premise or not, such research would suggest that role definition by white men of both blacks and women has resulted in underrepresentation in leadership positions.

This problem of differential achievement necessitates a consideration of specific solutions. Therefore, hypotheses follow regarding future research and goals which would enhance the psychological and educational development of more positive racial and sexual images.

Future Research Hypotheses

Women have traditionally been defined by others; literature confirms this fact. The negative impact of this process has been discussed earlier in this paper. We contend that women, especially black women — i.e., in M. Wallace's fashion — should assertively include themselves in this "defining" process. We therefore encourage research by and about women. For our own insight and to aid in the social development of future female offspring, women need to be involved in a process of self-examination and, consequently, self-revelation and self-definition.

We also encourage research by and about professional women and women who assume nontraditional roles in society. Too often research has dealt with low income, nonprofessional women and emphasized the negative aspects of such roles. The day of the "dumb blonde" or "Aunt Jemima" should be long past; however, the media warns us weekly that many sexual and racial stereotypes are alive and well and continue to be perpetuated and reinforced.

Along this same line, we discourage comparative research using men as a reference group. We rather encourage researchers to investigate differences within the same sexual group — e.g., different socioeconomic status, professions, races, birth orders, and significant "others" in one's social development. It would seem that such variables are much more likely to provide insight into the social inequities of life than pretending that it is reasonable to compare men and women developmentally. We can only begin to tackle these social inequities after they are identified. Since it appears obvious that, socially, girls experience life differently from boys, we need to focus more on developmental research, begun at an early age. We should study the social processes to determine how they are developed, initially at home and later influenced by teachers and other significant persons.

Reinforcement among young men of the socially "positive" attributes of aggressiveness and tenacity and the reinforcement, either overtly or covertly, of such characteristics as passivity and indecisiveness among young women, discourages the development in women of the necessary attributes of a "successful" business professional and leader in our society.

The last proposed hypothesis involves the development of educational programs which encourage and prepare women for employment in nontraditional occupations. Such programs could begin in kindergarten and be incorporated throughout high school in various forms — e.g., in kindergarten with play toys and in high school in already established vocational programs. In addition, as a part of this

academic training, we encourage the development of leadership models for women which could be easily incorporated into the educational programs suggested above. Certainly these programs will have to be initiated early in academic training. A complete reexamination of our current school systems and traditional programs is absolutely mandatory at this time if we are to begin to deal effectively with social and educational inequities currently inherent in the American socialization process. Further, a careful examination of racial and sexual stereotypes and their perpetuation in this society is also necessary.

Educational Goals

Social change is activated more readily by an educated public. Widespread change requires a reevaluation of our American system of education, which cannot occur without a redefinition of educational goals. First, the time is overdue for a reexamination of our current public school textbooks. The revision of textbook material that is insensitive to sexual images must be actively encouraged, supported, and implemented. Children are exposed at an early age to texts which contain potentially dangerous racial and sexual stereotypes. Secondly, in educational institutions, the use of play and toys, which have usually involved demeaning feminine roles, must be discontinued. Because these procedures necessitate a change in attitude among teachers and administrators, we suggest workshops for children and educators, including such tasks as role playing and role rehearsal.

Another important goal is the participation on the part of academia and businesses in programs offering women more nontraditional occupational choices and the establishment of academic planning mechanisms for nontraditional professions in which women are currently underpresented. This procedure could begin in the elementary grades as counselors suggest necessary academic prerequisites for these nontraditional occupations — i.e., early career counseling. This would necessitate the re-training and additional training of career counselors to facilitate the adequate assistance of young women in the making of well-informed decisions. We would also encourage training sessions and workshops for executives and administrators in businesses to deal with and hopefully facilitate their sensitivity to affirmative action and their ability to work with women in new nontraditional roles.

Finally, we encourage the general public to organize and form task forces that would place pressure on the vehicles of public communication — e.g., the media, literature, popular newspapers, and magazines — in order to influence effectively sexual and racial images vital to a more positive depiction and increased understanding of women, particularly black women.

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Training Women Leaders: A Model Program

Barnetta McGhee White

Formal training for women who want to assume leadership positions in higher education has been the exception rather than the rule. And women have generally been excluded from the informal management structure and have not always received the same kind of informal training as their male peers. This article describes how a leadership training program for women was designed and implemented. An evaluation of the near-term effects of the program indicated a greater sense of self-assurance among participants and, as a result, an increase in their impact upon students, colleagues, and supervisors.

Leaders in higher education must know how to plan, organize, direct, motivate, control, coordinate, and evaluate the activities that occur in that particular milieu. Formal training in the accomplishment of these tasks is the exception rather than the rule. And yet, anyone who is placed in a position of leadership without prior training is apt to do a less effective and efficient job. Such training is particularly critical for women who historically have had fewer opportunities for advancement in higher education.

Despite affirmative action programs, there has, in fact, been a real decline in the number of women in educational administration (Krohn, 1974; Levandowski, 1977; McLure & McLure, 1976). This decline shows up in the ratio of female public school teachers to female principals. There are also relatively few women in positions of leadership in community colleges and in positions at levels above department chairperson in higher education (Loomis & Wild, 1980). A 1979 survey by the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges revealed that women held 2,905 of the 13,638 administrative positions reported by 106 major U.S. public universities, and were more prevalent in the lower administrative ranks. Baron's (1978) survey of 1,487 women in management positions throughout the country found that among the 82% who wished to advance in their careers, many felt that they were not getting top management support. Many of these women also felt excluded from the informal management structure which gives informal training to their male peers.

There are several ways to attack this problem. The approach that seems to hold most promise for giving women skills and the confidence to use them is to make leadership training available to them (Andre & Edwards, 1978; Burkhardt, 1979; Diamond, 1978; Hill, 1975; Jackson, 1979; McLure & McLure, 1976; Stringer, 1977; Weaver, 1978). Through formal training, women can learn the concepts and principles of leadership as they apply to the field of higher education. Although women who aspire to leadership positions can also learn through observation, and through coaching by empathic senior managers (Herbert & Yost, 1978), there is

no real substitute for formal training to give women a sense of personal worth, courage, and confidence.

Although women who aspire to leadership positions can also learn through observation, and through coaching by empathic senior managers, there is no real substitute for formal training to give women a sense of personal worth, courage, and confidence.

With these thoughts in mind, a project was designed to provide leadership training for full-time faculty women at North Carolina Central University so that they would be well prepared to perform in or assume leadership positions in higher education. Training for women in higher education has generally been costly and has usually been held away from the place of employment. In some cases, it has required women to take leaves of absence. The women at institutions similar to ours can rarely afford such luxury; therefore, the training was brought to them. They did not have to pay for the training nor did they receive stipends for their attendance.

Designing the Program

During the fall of 1981, an interest locator was sent to all full-time faculty women, briefly outlining the project and asking for a response of definitely interested, somewhat interested, or not at all interested. Those who were definitely interested met and responded to a needs assessment in which they identified the skills they felt they needed. The needed skills were then rank ordered and incorporated into a curriculum design.

This tentative curriculum was presented to a blue-ribbon pool of consultants who were experienced in problem-solving in higher education and who agreed to come to the campus on a mutually acceptable day to present a day-long workshop on a topic relevant to the women. The pool of consultants contained members who were male and female, black and white, and whose major strengths were that they had held or were presently occupying leadership positions in higher education and were sensitive to the needs of women and minorities and the mission of an institution such as ours.

The workshops covered leadership styles for academic women, desegregating higher education, writing proposals, leadership development and implementation in institutional management, administrative planning, evaluative techniques, long-range and short-term planning, management of stress, and management of personnel.

The project could not hope to succeed without support for the women from all of those within the university hierarchy, including the chancellor. A meeting was held with department chairs and deans of schools to describe the project and solicit specific cooperation, including released time once a month for participants. The unswerving support of these key people was evident throughout the year.

Participants

At the beginning of 1981-82, there were 99 full-time faculty women at North Carolina Central University out of a total full-time faculty of 228. Of the full-time faculty women, 61 were Black, 36 were White, and 2 belonged to other racial categories. Forty-three full-time faculty women marked "definitely interested" on the interest locator. Although all these women helped by filling out the needs assessment, this number was thought to be too unwieldly to permit the kind of group interaction deemed necessary for the workshops planned. With the help of a specifically formed advisory committee, a group of 19 women was selected campus-wide, representing the disciplines of music,

art, home economics, English, biology, education, physical education, library science, business education, and the academic skills center.

Participant ages ranged from 23 to 59, with an average of 43.5. Fourteen were married, nine of whom had children; five were single, four of whom were single parents. All but three had the doctoral degree; one earned her degree before the end of the year.

Fourteen had held some type of leadership position at the state or university level during the past year. Four held the position of chair in their respective departments of art, home economics, nursing and English.

Results

Pretests and posttests were devised and administered for each of the six workshop-seminars, November through April. Each session focused on a different aspect or specific problem of leadership. The time between sessions was used to practice and apply the standard or principle learned. The pretest sought to determine how much was known about the topic prior to the workshop, while the posttest sought to determine how effective the session had been in increasing a knowledge base. After the six planned sessions, an additional session was held away from campus in a secluded retreat area. The final evaluation was done during this retreat and the results are reported here.

The participants rated each session on a scale of 6-1, according to usefulness and the strength of its content. The workshop they found most useful was "Long-Range Planning," which had an average score of 5.27. The next most useful was "Proposals for Research and Special Projects," with an average rating of 4.94. In the rating of content, these two sessions exchanged places; the proposal writing workshop received an average rating of 5.44, and long-range planning, 5.07.

Another series of questions sought to look at the participants' past leadership behavior and obtain some indication of the perceptions they had of themselves as potential future leaders.

Fourteen (73.7%) women said that they had held some type of leadership position during the past year. While four stated that they competed for the position, only one had volunteered. The others were asked, apparently by someone of a higher authority, to assume the position or had been appointed to it. After the training, eight (42.1%) said that they would consider running for a leadership position, sixteen (84.2%) believed that they could assume a leadership position and enjoy it, and sixteen (84.2%) felt that a leadership position would make a positive contribution to their lives.

All of the women said that they had used the information gained from the training in their work. The workshop-seminars had motivated them to do reading they would not have ordinarily done and to do other things differently. They reported that this heightened awareness had an impact on the students with whom they worked, especially that they had become more sensitive and encouraging to women students pursuing nontraditional careers. The training experience helped them to more clearly define their own goals, and in so doing, to become better able to direct student goals.

Supervisors of the women reported that during the training, many participants initiated conversations with them. More than 90% reported that these conversations were positive and that the participants had shown much interest in and enthusiasm for the project. Over 76% of the supervisors stated that the project participants whom they supervised demonstrated improved job performance during the year.

The women were asked to name specific initiatives they had taken during the year that evolved from their participation in the training. Some answers made by several of the participants were:

- made better use of my time
- applied for postgraduate fellowship (one was accepted)
- wrote out long-range and short-term goals
- began grant writing for my department; subsequently named chair of that committee

- worked to introduce women's history (studies) courses
- introduced new goals in department's five-year plan
- spoke out about curriculum changes
- involved more members of faculty in the decision-making process
- began to speak out more to make my opinion known
- approached problems more positively
- applied for a higher level job

Perhaps the most significant outcome of the leadership training was that all the participants reported significantly increased confidence.

Discussion

The project proved to have many dimensions. Overtly, it was designed to provide women with the skills used by successful leaders in higher education. The training sought to help them to become well suited to perform effectively in or to assume leadership positions in higher education. Many things become less awesome as they become more familiar; therefore, a covert facet of the project soon became apparent. The training helped to demystify the concept of leadership and give the participants the confidence that they, too, could become leaders.

Perhaps most important of all was the fact that the women were able to develop for themselves a cohesive support system to sustain each other. They became comfortable approaching each other with ideas and secure enough to brainstorm different strategies for reaching common goals. When asked to identify the most valuable outcome of the program, the respondents always mentioned sharing, support systems, reinforcement, networking, shared problem solving, exchanging ideas, and feelings of fellowship. Workshop discussions were candid, frank, and useful. It gave the women a good feeling to know that it was acceptable to aspire to leadership, and that, once it was obtained, they would have kindred souls to support them.

The various topics discussed during the training are now being designed into training units. These units will form a manual which can be used for leadership training for women in higher education in other institutions similar to the one for which it was designed.

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You Can Go Home Again, But It's Not Easy

Barbara H. Mickey

In this article, the author reflects on the process of "downward mobility"—of making a move away from an administrative career, back to teaching.

The literature offering advice to women who seek to move up the career ladder in higher education is becoming voluminous. The tone is tense and grim, but the message that the pot of gold is there if one tenaciously chases the rainbow suffuses the whole.

There is no literature telling women who've been there and who are motivated to come down the ladder how to do so without falling. I have recently made such a return trip.

Since I began the descent, I have been asked hundreds of times how I like leaving administration to return to teaching. My answers, had I responded the way I felt each time, would have ranged from: "It's a lot like dying" to "At last I'm free again!" And each response would have been true. Instead, I answered with stock and usually empty replies.

The following is an account of my own experience in moving from vice president to senior professor. The details are my own and are likely to have little relationship to the experience of others in similar circumstances. I cannot compare my experience with that of others, for the literature does not provide comparable accounts. Still, I believe there are common conditions and patterns.

Transitions in occupation and life-style have become commonplace for adults in our society, and promise to become even more frequent in the future. The growing volume of literature on adult development reflects this shift in attitudes toward such changes. Levinson, Loevenger, Perry, Knowles, Chickering, Greenberg, Charland, Weathersby, and Tarule are only a few whose work in this area has recently been published. Consulting firms and special programs—such as Loretto Heights College's Project Transition, Ohio University's adult learning television series entitled "Transitions," the Council for the Advancement of Experimental Learning's Project Learn, and the College of New Rochelle's School of New Resources—are helping midlife persons seek new directions.

Although many of these people will be moving up, more and more of them will be moving down the ladder as well. Each person is unique in both the conditions which elicit change and the effects that change brings. Individualization is the hallmark of changes in life direction. Adjustment problems will need to be identified and managed as individuals prepare to cope with life changes—whatever direction they may take.

The Decision to Change

I made my decision to change direction after having been in academic administration for nearly eight years. The decision

came from the concatenation of many factors, some of which I had been struggling with for a number of years. Some of them were professional, some were personal, and some were situation specific.

When I entered academic administration as an assistant vice president, I was an associate professor with eight years of full-time teaching. I was becoming tired of the sameness of teaching and, having glimpsed administration from my role on faculty committees, had decided I'd like to know more about the institution from the administrative side. My curiosity was further piqued by the fact that my discipline is cultural anthropology and that my intellectual commitment is to the understanding of cultural systems and social institutions holistically. At first, therefore, I viewed the move as not unlike a field visit into another culture—how exotic, I did not then know!

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At that time, the early 1970s, the world of higher education was still working toward the goals that had emerged from the 1950s and 1960s. Many new institutions committed to the educational needs of new populations were being developed. The Carnegie Commission was at work identifying educational changes needed by a changing society and a diversified clientele. Established institutions, often funded by federal agencies, were developing centers, institutes, colleges, and external programs in response to the movement. Opportunities for growth and change abounded and an ambience of excitement permeated the national higher education scene. This élan overlay the basically conservative temper of academe. It was a stimulating time to work in academic administration—to be a part of planning, developing, implementing new programs.

My institution was, like many others, caught up in this movement. The campus atmosphere—a mixture of two parts change, two parts hold, and one part reverse—exhibited tensions over experimentation and change, but experimentation nonetheless went on. I was called upon in my positions, at first as assistant vice president, then associate vice president, and finally as vice president, to help stimulate and manage some of the experimentation.

It was in that milieu that I entered administration and learned my way around in it, and it was to that milieu that I made my commitment. When the movement began to subside—when pressures from both inside and outside began to dictate a retrenchment in experimentation—academic administration became for me more frustrating and less rewarding. I began to think of making a change.

Although a major motivation for my decision to move out of administration was programmatic change, such situations are never so easy to define. The range of factors which finally precipitated my decision included five other categories as well: overexpenditure of personal capital in a tense world, attitudes toward women in administration and changes occurring in the expression of such attitudes, demands on my time and energy, my relationships with my family, and changes in perception that result simply from getting older.

Those who serve in decision-making positions in the central administration of a college or university must make unpopular decisions and arrange trade-offs, for it is not possible to please all of the people any of the time. Over the years, this process leads to an erosion of the credibility and the acceptability of persons in such positions. When the expectations of faculty, students, and public populations related to and interested in the institution were generally homogeneous, and the programs and activities unchanging and predictable,

the cost in professional acceptability of this process to those responsible for it was low. A president, vice president, provost, or chancellor could expect to remain comfortably in the position for a professional lifetime. With the growth in diversity of the populations in institutions of higher education, however, this is no longer the case; persons achieving such positions may easily find themselves pawns in the tensions that permeate the campus. Eventually, the administrator is likely to lose management control or to be sufficiently weakened that he or she finds continuation in the position professionally unsatisfying or, much worse, becomes the target of institutional scapegoating.

Female administrators are subject to the same vicissitudes as are males, and further, to the ambiguity now existing with respect to the women's movement. Despite important gains for women, the world of academia is still a male one. Most women who have been successful have succeeded because they have learned well to play a male role. In my case, there came a time when I had to ask myself whether continuing in such a mode really met my professional goals.

Things also happened to me as a person. I passed fifty and began to be aware of a limitation on my time. I could no longer put off into the indefinite future things I wanted to accomplish in my lifetime: professional writing, unfinished research, exploration of ideas that puzzled me or caught my imagination, the pile of books I intend to read someday. My administrative job, like my faculty one, was to me a professional position that received as much of my energy and time as it required. But I found that it had come to absorb all of my thinking as well as my action time, when I needed to be free for other activities, to become reacquainted with my family and with my place away from work.

All of these factors were involved in my thinking in the months preceding the decision to change. In trying to track them, I found, and in trying to recapture them now, I find the process confusing, frustrating, and difficult. I decided, changed my mind, decided, and changed my mind again countless times both before and after I made the decision and commitment to change. This was the tapestry of my mind against which the transition occurred.

The Transition

No matter how positive the move or how firm the decision, the transition is not an easy one. It necessarily affects total lifestyle; it changes the persons with whom one associates, the activities pursued, and the way the day is organized.

Status in our society is organized hierarchically. Our value system encompasses that organization and our language reflects it. "Stepping *down*," "going *back* to the classroom," and "*just* teaching" are phrases which convey messages of lower value. Tucked away in the minds of those who use them is also a suspicion that those who choose this direction of change are forced to do so because of some inadequacy, because administration is higher than teaching, because we all strive to go up and, when up, to stay there. Faculty are accorded less pay, less prestige, less recognition, and less power. Who, after all, would voluntarily opt for that?

So, one of the first problems in the transition was to cope with the new definition of role and status both as it was perceived by myself and by others. Administrative colleagues often begin to behave as if the person in transition no longer exists. Faculty colleagues frequently resent the returning administrator, feeling that he or she has been imposed upon them without their having been able to seek just the right person with the right expertise. Further, faculty feel that the returning administrator, having been away from the academic field too long, is likely to be out of date and less than competent in the classroom. The returning administrator then is cut off from the support of former colleagues and placed center-stage and alone, in the position of having to prove his or her worth to new associates. The psychological impact of this threatening situation is unnerving, especially if the new department cannot justify the need for the additional FTE or colleagues do not receive the newcomer well.

I was fortunate to have maintained a teaching relationship with my department while in administration and to have been

readily accepted back. Still, the problem existed with my former colleagues in administration and both implicitly and explicitly with many of my colleagues in other departments. One member of my department was asked by a faculty member in another department how the department felt about "having to take her back." That is a very uncomfortable spot to be in in these days of faculty insecurity resulting from talk of dropping enrollments, program reductions, and rifs.

Similar confusion existed with colleagues off the campus. Over the years, I had developed professional relationships throughout the academic world in association with my administrative role. Some awkward misunderstandings occurred during the transition period, when persons not knowing of my changed status sought advice or services in connection with my former administrative position and found it awkward either to go forward or to retreat when they learned of the change in my position. In one instance, a former colleague who had asked me to speak to a group of high school students about women in administration changed the request to a talk on anthropology when he learned I had resigned my position. Although I had participated in this career information program each year for several years, prior to my position change, I have not been asked since! The assumption that I know less now about women in administration seems astonishing to me!

The definition of social relationships also undergoes an abrupt change. Much of my social life as an administrator was prescribed; there were numerous luncheons, dinners, cocktail parties, receptions, special events related to academic units on the campus, and community events to which I was invited and went. It was part of the job. Suddenly the merry-go-round stopped; the abruptness felt a little like being shunned. Gradually, of course, real friends and events emerged from the pool of activity and the richer, more meaningful social interactions continue.

But people are not the only factor that changes. The move from a position in central administrative position to faculty necessarily carries with it a reduction in the accessibility of resources to get things done. Administrators know where the resources are in the system, whom to contact for information and action, and what procedures to follow. With an administrative position goes the power (often implicit) to activate the system and to make it work. Over the years, it became my habit to solve problems and to initiate change through the system. It is ironic to find that now, with the time available to do something important for the academic and instructional programs, the means are no longer accessible! Getting used to this was one of the more frustrating aspects of my transition.

Status in our society is organized hierarchically. Our value system encompasses that organization and our language reflects it. "Stepping *down*," "going *back* to the classroom," and "*just* teaching" are phrases which convey messages of lower value.

But the most difficult adjustment and the one that took the longest time for me was recovery from the addiction to schedule. After years of full days of clock-controlled appointments and committee meetings, I savored the day when I'd have unscheduled time. To my surprise, I found myself rushing to the office before eight each morning and suffering from guilt feelings if I left before five or six in the afternoon. I had difficulty leaving the office to work in the library, visit the bookstore, or seek out a colleague with whom I wanted to discuss a new idea. A blank calendar for the day left me feeling vaguely uncomfortable, unimportant, and inadequate. It took over a year to learn *not* to seek to fill out the daily calendar with person-oriented activities!

But finally getting control of my time has been the most positive result of the transition. As an administrator, my days were

occupied with long, minimally productive meetings interspersed with unanticipated problems and brushfires. Time set aside for thinking, planning, and development of new ideas usually was eroded as the day got underway. Often routine meetings extended into the evenings, some began before breakfast, and others were scheduled for weekends. There seemed no way to manage either my time or my energy. Now if I am overscheduled it is of my own doing, for I am free to manage my own time and energy. I am as busy as I ever was, but I get much more accomplished in the same amount of time and, more important, I get done what *I* choose to do. I work with older students who come with exciting ideas—one seeking new procedures to train teachers for multicultural classrooms, another interested in wellness programs, a third interested in adult development and higher education, another working on the effect of religious differences on fertility rates in Iranian populations, another reconstructing the physical setting in Germany before the destruction of the Second World War. Younger students come to talk about the career possibilities in anthropology and to identify graduate schools in which to pursue their special interests. I have time for some consulting relevant to change in higher education programming, development of nontraditional programs, and anthropology and education. I have time to rethink the relationship between the fields of anthropology and education, and to develop some new courses using concepts, techniques, procedures from the two fields.

And I have time again for home and family, for working in the mountains, for watching the deer and the elk, and for listening to the birds sing.

Yet, it has not been easy to learn to do these things: to learn to slow down, to work at a lower level of tension. Even now, several years later, I see around me exciting things the institution might do, and for which I might have served as a catalyst, stimulator, and/or facilitator as vice president and, with no small amount of unrelieved dis-ease, say to myself: "Forget it, it's not your business," and go on my way.

On Being a Vice President for Academic Affairs

Louise H. Allen

In this personal essay, the author reflects on the tasks, the rewards and the difficulties associated with being a female in the role of chief academic affairs officer.

The Job

"It's the toughest job in any college or university." That's what a friend of mine, who has been a college president for a decade, says about the position of chief academic officer, generally called vice president for academic affairs, dean of faculty, or dean of instruction, sometimes provost. Not having had *his*, the president's, job, I'm not sure that I quite agree with my friend, but I don't argue very vigorously with him, either. Vice president for academic affairs is a tough, complex, and demanding position.

Obviously, a chief academic officer is expected to be the principal educational leader on the campus and the head of the faculty. In addition, the VPAA has heavy fiscal responsibilities, usually approaching 60 percent of the entire institutional budget; has very significant personnel responsibilities as the employing officer for the entire faculty and for a sizeable classified staff and as architect of staff development; and is normally the "second-in-command" at the institution and the acting president in the president's absence. In my case and some others, the VPAA is also the chief planning officer. In all cases, vice presidents produce significant reports for the president, the governing board, and frequently the state commission and other agencies.

Most VPAA's supervise a half-dozen or more colleges, schools, or divisions, the library or learning resources center, and academic extension and continuing education. Some also supervise academic services to students, such as admissions and registration or individualized learning or student development centers.

Most function with a council of deans or academic cabinet, a rather highly participatory body which advises on resource allocations and budgeting, develops proposals on academic policy, and keeps the vice president informed of accomplishments, needs, and concerns of the various schools and other units. Most also hold *ex officio* membership in, and some chair, the faculty senate, which is the formal academic policy-making body on most campuses. In many cases, as in mine, the chief academic officer is required by college or university policy to hold each year a stated number of meetings of the entire faculty; most would do that by choice even if not required to do so.

The balance among the various functions of the office has been changing in recent years, as external demands for formalized

management and accountability increase, and as the relative mobility of faculty members from campus to campus decreases. Vice presidents for academic affairs these days find themselves more and more involved in formal planning, in reallocation of resources (including faculty positions), and in fiscal and data-management activities. They also find that the emphasis in the personnel function has shifted from hiring (and occasional firing) to staff development programs and projects designed to refresh and keep current and "alive" faculty and staff members, who can now be expected to remain at the same institution through most of their careers. Although this can be creative and rewarding work, it requires venturing into largely uncharted territory, as most currently active academics (both professors and administrators) entered the profession in a period of high mobility and without the expectation of facing the now pressing problem of the "graying of the faculty."

In addition, VPAA's are finding themselves increasingly involved in legal and quasi-legal matters. Both faculty members and students are increasingly conscious of and attentive to their constitutional and legal rights as persons, employees, and consumers; this leads chief academic officers into new territory of another kind. And in institutions where collective bargaining is established or contemplated, VPAAs may be members of the management bargaining team and certainly will play an important role in the administration of the contract.

With these new functions, it might be said that the chief academic officer is becoming more of an *officer* and less of an *academic*, although most of us would hope that this is not the case. Still, one of the reasons my friend the president cites for his "toughest job" label is the multifaceted and changing nature of the position. A VPAA must be constantly alert to changing needs and constantly acquire new knowledge and skills.

The Profile: Typical

The typical vice president for academic affairs today is a caucasian male in his late 40s or early 50s. He holds an earned doctorate, occasionally in higher education administration, but more often in an academic discipline, in which he has a background of teaching and research. He tries to "keep in touch" with his discipline by limited teaching, direction of graduate theses, and/or personal research projects. But he finds this increasingly difficult, for the managerial side of his job, combined with the participatory style of decision-making which now characterizes most campuses, requires that he spend much of the work week on meetings, telephone calls, correspondence, and interviews. Still, he does attend occasional conventions of his professional organization and presents or publishes a scholarly paper when he can find the time to prepare one.

His career up to the time of appointment to his present position included work as a faculty member, program coordinator or department head, and probably dean. Usually, he holds professional rank (normally professor) in his discipline's department, but he must be cautious with participation in the department's activities, in order to avoid appearing to practice favoritism toward his "home" department.

In addition to his discipline's national organizations, he probably also holds membership in the American Association for Higher Education and several other administrators' organizations. He may well be a consult/evaluator for one or more accrediting agencies, and he probably sits on the boards of two or three educational and corporate entities.

Generally, he has spent most of his career in the same *type* of institution (two-year community college, four-year liberal arts college, comprehensive university), but he has moved about among several institutions. Administrators are more mobile than faculty members today, and "breadth of experience" is considered a desirable qualification by most search committees looking for high-level administrators. He may have spent a year or two on the staff of an education-related agency in his state's capital or in Washington.

He is well-read, articulate, and usually rather good looking. His salary is in the $30,000 to $60,000 range (less at small institutions, more at large ones), and he

lives, dresses, entertains, and belongs to clubs in a manner suitable to his income and status in the community.

He may go on to a college or university presidency in a few years, most probably in the same "sector" of higher education where he has spent his career so far. It is at least as likely, however, that he will choose to return to full-time research and teaching in his discipline for the last few years before retirement, and will retire from his professor's chair. He may well take retirement a few years before the mandatory date, as his relatively comfortable income as VPAA has served him well in building investment in his institution's retirement system.

The preference of VPAAs for returning to the laboratory and the classroom may be undergoing some change; chief academic officers seem in recent years somewhat more likely to move into presidencies than in the past. However, presidencies are now turning over very rapidly, on the average about every four years, and presidents are now coming from the business and development side of institutions, as well as from legal backgrounds. Further, many VPAAs speak of a "presidential personality," somewhat more gregarious and "political" than their own, and say "I just wouldn't be any good at fundraising," or "dealing with politicians is something I don't handle very well." Still, the paths to the presidency and back to the classroom both remain open, and the VPAA who wants to be a president will probably have the chance to do so.

The Profile: Women

Currently, less than five percent of the chief academic officers in the United States are women. Most of them are in women's colleges or institutions which historically were women's colleges; a large number are nuns in Roman Catholic women's colleges. Relatively few are married, as I am, although some are divorcees or widows.

Sex apart, the female vice president for academic affairs has many characteristics in common with her male counterpart. Her career path has been similar, and the headaches and rewards of her job are quite parallel. Her salary has probably been equalized by now with those of men in similar institutions and positions, and she may very well be, as I am, the highest-paid vice president on her campus. She may actually be *more* in demand than her male counterparts for off-campus board membership and other activities, since she is rare.

Currently, less than five percent of the chief academic officers in the United States are women. Most of them are in women's colleges or institutions which historically were women's colleges; a large number are nuns in Roman Catholic women's colleges. Relatively few are married, as I am, although some are divorcees or widows.

Still, she may be viewed a bit askance on the campus, at least at the beginning, particularly if the institution has a heavily male faculty and a long history of male administrators. Questions such as "Can she really take charge?", "Does she know anything about handling money?", "How can she keep Professor X (the campus misogynist) in line?", "Can she run a faculty meeting?", and "Aren't the deans going to run rings around her?" are bound to arise. Response to these questions usually requires time and proof through performance; it can't be accomplished by direct action or argumentation.

Similar questions may be raised in the community or by other constituencies of the institution. Again, the only convincing response is superior performance and dedication. Perhaps particularly touchy are those constituencies which follow and sponsor intercollegiate athletics if, as in my case and others, the athletic director reports to the vice president for academic affairs. (In "big-time" athletic schools, the athletic director generally reports to the president, but in schools with middle-level

competition, particularly if coaches double as physical education instructors, the reporting line is often in the academic sphere.) Since women's sports are only now coming into their own, the woman vice president for academic affairs may be accused of favoritism toward them at the expense of the "traditional" men's sports. Also, unless she can quote batting averages back to 1926 or the latest NCAA rules changes, the woman will be suspected of "not knowing anything" about athletics, and indirectly of costing the sports program money by discouraging potential donors. Whether justified or not, these charges can only be lived down; they cannot be met frontally.

Skepticism may also characterize the attitudes of the deans and of the faculty in a coeducational institution like mine. The new VPAA is almost certainly the first of her sex to occupy a vice-presidency, and may well find that all of her peer vice presidents, all of the deans, and most of the senior faculty members are men. Their behavior may range from patronizing ("Do let me open the door for you."), through nervous ("What preparation do you want for meetings?"), to simply confused ("I've never had a woman boss before, you know.").

The very office of vice president itself is new to many campuses, a fact that may complicate the position of the new VPAA, particularly if she is appointed from outside the institution to a newly created post. The historical pattern of collegiate institutions, and still the pattern in many, is one of strong deans reporting directly to the president and perceived generally as the *superiors*, not just the *peers*, of the chief officers in business and in student affairs.

The need for clear lines of accountability and for reduction in the president's span of control has led to the creation of vice presidencies, and the woman who is the first VPAA as well as the first vice president of her sex has special concerns to face. She may find that the deans regard her as "blocking their access" to the president; she will almost certainly discover that identifying a new, suitable, and comfortable role for the deans in the institutional structure is a task she must undertake early. Again, the only answer is good and creditable performance over time, showing sensitivity to the concerns of other officers but at the same time demonstrating competence in her own role. Well handled, the concerns of the deans particularly seem to evanesce fairly rapidly; those of faculty members may take longer to resolve. One reason for this may be that administrators recognize competence in other administrators fairly quickly, while faculty members may remain suspicious of the *office* (as well as of the *person)* over a longer period of time.

A Typical Day: The Time Problem

The vice president for academic affairs' life is a busy one, generally beginning early and ending late. It normally involves working lunches and business-related cocktail parties and dinners; often even the breakfast hour is spent in some kind of conference. The telephone is rarely still, and an average of 15 or 20 papers come in each day to be read and signed.

On one day in April, for example, my calendar shows that I had the following appointments:

- Conference with the affirmative action director on searches for two positions.
- Meeting with the president on faculty promotions
- Phone conversation with the university legal counsel on a pending grant contract
- Luncheon meeting with a community group who want the university to initiate a new academic program
- Meeting of the executive officers (president and vice presidents) on the beginning of annual budget development and other matters
- Meeting on relocation of the university television station's studios and offices
- Charge to the search committee for a deanship
- Interview with a reporter for the student newspaper on academic minors

- Meeting with the worried mother of a student who must withdraw from the university for health reasons (Mother wants assurance "from the top" that the student may re-enter later.)
- Meeting of the academic computing committee
- Late-afternoon at-home for faculty members
- Dinner with a local service club and after-dinner speech on women in higher education

In addition, that same day, I talked to a dozen or more people by telephone, dictated seven or eight memos and letters, and put together in final form two reports for the governing board agenda.

I also received and took home to read and respond to the current draft of the University's Master Plan, approximately 20 pieces of correspondence, and a 200-page agenda for the meeting a few days later of the state commission. Beginning at 5:30 the next morning, I screened all this material for delegation to other offices or reply or comment directly from me. (People handle paperwork differently, of course, but I think most vice presidents for academic affairs find that much of it must perforce be handled outside of regular office hours.)

One thing I didn't do on that particular day, but that I do on most days, is receive, review, or authorize something having to do with the budget. Monthly financial reports, recommendations for allocation of present budgets, preparation of materials for future budget requests, purchase orders, receiving reports, travel requests, and personnel documents are a part of my almost daily routine. Although I have an assistant vice president who is an expert in the handling of budgets, most of these materials require my personal signature (a signature stamp won't do!), and all of his recommendations require my review and approval.

Another thing that I didn't do that day, but that I do on most days, is confer individually or collectively with the deans. I did talk to two or three of the eight by phone that day, but didn't see any of them in the office; on most days I would see several of them personally. Also, on at least alternate Tuesday afternoons I chair the council of deans meeting, which normally lasts from 1:30 to 5:30 or after.

One more thing that I didn't do that day, but often do is confer with someone about athletics. The university's intercollegiate athletic program is active in both men's and women's sports (a total of 12), belongs to a conference and two national organizations, and has the support of a small but vigorous group of alumni and community people. I ordinarily spend two or three hours a week talking with someone, reviewing reports, or otherwise involving myself directly with some facet of the athletic program.

I am also chairperson of the university planning committee, which meets at least monthly, and an *ex officio* member of the faculty senate and its executive committee (two more meetings each month) and of the university curriculum committee, which meets at least biweekly.

I try to attend as many university events as possible, and also monthly breakfasts sponsored by the chamber of commerce and a local creative arts alliance, in addition to luncheon and dinner meetings of the athletic boosters' club and several community organizations to which I belong. Governing board or commission meetings, visits to other institutions, and conferences with state agencies take me out of town an average of two or three working days each month, so my attendance at some of the campus and community events is necessarily sporadic.

Obviously from all of the above, time is of the essence, and skill in the management of time is something which a VPAA must have or develop. Two kinds of time must be allowed for, and the routine busy-ness must not be allowed to intrude on them: thinking time and personal time. A leader must make time to think out the direction in which her leadership is to go, and everyone must have time for one's self or one's family.

I am perhaps more fortunate than most in that to some extent, I can dovetail these two kinds of time. Mine is a very education-minded family, consisting of a husband who spent over 30 years in academe

and of grown children with graduate or professional school educations. I can thus "bounce off" on them, in a personal context, some of my professional thoughts and concerns. Our long-time family friends are also largely educators, so that time spent with them also often mixes the personal and the professional.

Nonetheless, I have one cardinal rule for myself: *I do not do routine work on weekends*, except occasionally very early in the mornings before my family has awakened. Also, I try not to work in the evenings, except for business-related dinners and evening events. I do "feminine" work in these periods, such as cooking and laundry, generally chatting as I go. On weekends my husband and I garden, watch television, go out for a meal or to a museum or zoo or to visit friends, or simply talk; when the children are visiting, I do not work at all outside the five-day, 8:00 to 5:00 hours.

I also double-up on thinking time by writing. I am lucky enough to write fairly fluently, and I find that I can give direction and clarification to my thoughts by putting them down. Sometimes the writing is merely listmaking—tasks to do, people to call or write to, agenda for future meetings. Other times it is more fluid—work on a paper or a speech, sections of a long report, "food for (future) thought."

Other chief academic officers have their own ways of finding thinking time and personal time—perhaps exercise, of which I freely admit that I don't get enough—but in any case those kinds of time must be found. I can't emphasize too much the thoughts that all work and no play does make Jill a dull girl, and that leaders must think.

Hints for Future Vice Presidents for Academic Affairs

The development of a career that leads to the kind of position I hold is a tricky business. It must start with an academic career, for a vice president for academic affairs who lacks the requisite academic credentials is an anomaly by definition. That means graduate work, almost certainly through the doctorate, and teaching, preferably from freshman through graduate courses. It means extensive reading, in one's discipline and in problems in higher education in general, and at least some writing for publication.

But a career leading to major academic office also involves progressive administrative responsibility, which is to some extent incompatible with a scholarly career. Therefore choices, conscious or unconscious, must be made between conventional scholarly research and administration. This is not to say that the academic administrator shouldn't be a constant learner, but only that what is learned will be subject to change. Budget analysis will replace literature searches; personnel decisions will replace choice of scholarly hypotheses; and papers will reflect management problems more often than the cutting edge of knowledge in a discipline.

Would-be vice presidents for academic affairs should consider these choices and try to make them consciously.

If a woman has made the choice to pursue a career in academic administration and aspires to be a VPAA, I offer the following nonexhaustive set of hints for her success:

- Remember that you're an academic, and make others remember it by teaching, writing, and speaking on academic topics as much as you can.
- Get the very best secretary you can, and keep her/him happy; it's literally true that the secretary can make or break the supervisor.
- Find your own operating style and stick to it; don't feel you must be aggressive just because those around you are, but at the same time don't let yourself be pushed into positions that don't seem right to you.
- Recognize that in each career step you will probably inherit a staff, some of whom will fit your style and others of whom won't; work as well as you can with the latter, but be on the lookout for opportunities to build your own team.
- Learn about finances if you haven't done so in your schooling, and take formal training if you need it.

- Learn to run good meetings—productive, not ramblingly discursive ones; consider taking formal training if you need it here, too.
- Develop the habit of following up promptly and thoroughly after meetings, so that people will *know* they've been productive.
- Learn to delegate, even if you think you could do a better job with the details of a particular task than someone else; train yourself to realize that you can't do it all.
- See to it that the people you supervise make the decisions they should, and if they don't, find reasons and opportunities to replace them.
- Don't postpone or shy away from unpleasant tasks, such as replacing or reprimanding when necessary; the unpleasantness will probably just get worse if you try to avoid it.
- Be as tender as you can with the spirits of others; when deserved, reward with praise as well as raises, and when necessary, reprimand firmly but fairly.
- Use your femininity as appropriate, e.g., as a hostess; but (in sage words spoken to a woman I know when she started her administrative career) "get your loving somewhere else."
- Recognize that at least some of your decisions will be unpopular and that you can no more please "all the people all the time" than Abraham Lincoln could; that kind of "loving" (i.e., approval, popularity) may need to come from "somewhere else", too.
- If you make an error (and you will make errors), take your lumps; they may prove to be nuggets of experience in the long run.
- Have or develop some interests, both personal and professional, outside your job; travel, read novels or poetry, skydive, visit other campuses, or whatever pleases you, but don't become completely a prisoner on your own campus.
- When in doubt, seek advice, preferably from a trusted mentor (perhaps a former boss) whom you can consult in confidence; it's good for your spirit and may result in a better decision than you would make alone.
- Don't be afraid to explain the facts to those you work with, but learn not to give them more detail than they want or can absorb.
- Stay in touch with the student body as you move up the administrative ladder. Most of the students who will come to see a dean or vice president will have large problems no one else could settle for them, so you must seek out the others or you will lose perspective on the solid and satisfied students.
- Have a certain degree of faith in your own intuitions, but privately try out your ideas—especially if they're very different from current practice—on a variety of people before making them public.
- Don't betray your own values. If you have a strong opinion on something, state it frankly and don't leave others guessing, and then follow through on it straightforwardly.
- Find ways to deal with the paperwork so it won't bog you down; learn to dictate well and to operate a calculator or a computer terminal to save time.
- Never sign anything you haven't read, no matter how great the urgency—but learn to read fast.
- Dress as well as you can afford to, and learn to make a good public presentation; impressions do count.
- Try not to get over scheduled (as hard as it is not to); be as visible as you can on the campus and in the community.
- Learn to play the game of campus politics well; practice finding out where the informal communication/decision network lies (which may be quite outside the published organizational chart) and learn to use it constructively.

Finally, and most important, remember that as a woman you're "different", but don't let them make you into a "token." At

each step of the way, and particularly when you arrive at the vice president level, you will have considerable power (probably less than some people think you have and more than others, perhaps including yourself, realize); you must use that power affirmatively for your institution and its academic programs. Always keep foremost in your own and others' minds that your institution is an educational institution, and that when institutional choices must be made, the needs of academic affairs must come first. Many of these needs will be for money, so make sure that you get your share of it; the same goes for positions, space, equipment, and other resources. Keep prominent in your own and others' minds, also, the thought that the institution's business is the education of students, and that students are the most important people on any campus.

Leadership in periods of change—and I am sure that there will continue to be rapid change in academia at least until the end of this century—is particularly difficult. Still, for the woman who is willing and able to learn the lessons, do the work, and take the lumps, I know of no more rewarding job than vice president for academic affairs.

One Last Word: The Rewards

Even though my friend may be rght—that *is* the toughest job—being a vice president for academic affairs has many rewards. Perhaps more than any other person in a college or university, the vice president for academic affairs has the opportunity to make a significant difference in the institution's development. Whether or not she is the designated chief planner, as I am, she is both the principal voice for change and dynamism in the curriculum, and the principal spokesperson for academic excellence both on and off the campus. She enjoys a relatively comfortable salary, a certain degree of prestige, and the opportunity to meet an ever-widening circle of interesting people. She has the chance to work, as all academics do, with highly talented, often genuinely brilliant, people, and to help to channel their talents to the best possible service for the institution's students.

The ultimate reward, of course, is the success of those students. Commencement day is a delight. Seeing a story in the media about a graduate's promotion or special distinction in his or her career provides a lift to the spirit which may linger for days. Having a visit from a graduate who has made marks in a professional field or a community, and who says, "I just wanted you to know that for me it all started here at college" can leave a lasting glow.

Leadership is often lonely, to be sure, and positions of leadership are always perplexing. Leadership in periods of change—and I am sure that there will continue to be rapid change in academia at least until the end of this century—is particularly difficult. Still, for the woman who is willing and able to learn the lessons, do the work, and take the lumps, I know of no more rewarding job than vice president for academic affairs.

Yes, friend president, it's a tough job—but there are few which carry more rewards.

Family and Career Characteristics of Women and Men College and University Administrators

Gloria W. Bird

This study examined selected family and career characteristics of a sample of married women and men administrators. Data analysis indicated that although women and men administrators reported using role-management strategies to about the same extent, women considered their careers to be significantly more time demanding. Women married at a younger age, had fewer children, and earned less salary than male colleagues of similar employment position, age range, and educational level. In addition, women administrators had a significantly different perception of husband/wife role behavior and were much more likely to be part of a two-career family. These findings support the belief that there are family as well as employment differences between male and female college and university administrators.

Because of a lack of research on women college administrators, inferences about this group are often made from the empirical findings of studies focusing on women executives in other professions (Moore & Wollitzer, 1979). The majority of such research concerns structures and processes in the work environment. Similar research should be focused specifically on women in educational administration and should be expanded to include the interrelationships between work and family life, in recognition that "work affects the family and the family influences work" (Mortimer & London, 1984, p. 20).

Careers in academia have typically been so demanding that a marital partner has often been deemed necessary to entertain, make contacts, and give other needed intellectual and emotional support. Usually, husbands held the titles and wives acted as willing, unpaid, auxiliary personnel. In effect, the family has acted as a subcontractor for work in academic systems. (Hochschild, 1975). Both husband and wife have been expected to put their energies into the development of his career, the two-person career (Papanek, 1973). Even today, the wife is often seen as an extension of the husband, expecting to have her life shaped by the demands of his employment (Fowlkes, 1980).

Research findings suggest that, in explaining gender dissimilarity, differences in family structure and function may be as important as personal, educational, and career characteristics (Bird et al., 1984; Kanter, 1977; Scanzoni, 1980). As Freeman (1977) noted, marital and family variables are important predictors of major differences between women and men colleagues. "In choosing to marry or not, in selecting a spouse, and in deciding whether to have

children, females face a much different set of options and costs than do males" (p. 170).

In a discussion of the characteristics of professional women, Coser and Rokoff (1974) suggested that conflicting responsibilities in family and employment roles are inspired by an underlying value system according to which professional women "are expected to be committed to their work 'just like a man' at the same time that they are normatively required to give priority to their family" (p. 501). This fact of life is of particular importance to women administrators who come to realize that they cannot have the same expectations of role performance from husbands that husbands can expect from wives. This realization is especially significant for the many professional women who are married to fellow professionals with demanding careers of their own (Martin, 1975; Rawlings, 1978).

Careers in academia have typically been so demanding that a marital partner has often been deemed necessary to entertain, make contacts, and give other needed intellectual and emotional support. Usually, husbands held the titles and wives acted as willing, unpaid, auxiliary personnel. In effect, the family has acted as a subcontractor for work in academic systems.

Recent increases in the employment of married women in administrative and managerial careers have drawn attention to a need for research that examines the interdependency of work and family roles, a need that is especially crucial in the area of academic administration. The purposes of the present study were to examine the career and family characteristics of a sample of women administrators and determine if these data differ significantly from data collected from a sample of men administrators.

Method

Sample

Data were collected via mailed questionnaires from administrators at colleges and universities having institutional membership in the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, April through June, 1979. Administrators sampled included those listed as deans and directors of academic, research, or extension units, as well as persons identified as chief administrative officers by their institutions. Administrators listed as president or chancellor of an institution were excluded from the sample because women were more underrepresented in those positions than in other administrative positions.

Questionnaires were sent to 299 women administrators and a 10% random sample (300) of the 2,959 men administrators. A series of three follow-up mailings yielded a 74% response rate (443). The present investigation is based on a subsample of 112 married administrators, 77 men and 35 women of approximately the same age range.[1]

Sample Description

As illustrated in Table 1, seventy-seven percent of the women administrators had married by age 25, compared to 51% of the men. Most women (54%) and men (59%) had doctorates; 26% of both women and men administrators had master's degrees. Though women's salaries were less (45% earned less than $25,000, compared to 13% of the men), their family incomes (combined salaries of wife and husband) were higher. Forty-one percent of the women reported family incomes of over $50,000, and 29% of the men reported family incomes above that figure.

A striking 77% of women administrators were in two-career families. Men were much more likely to report being in one-career families (38%) or being married to spouses who were employed in part-time

(17%) or full-time jobs (13%). Thirty-two percent of men administrators were married to career women. Women administrators were more likely to report having no children (23%) than were men (5%). Fifty-two percent of the men had families with three or more children, compared to 20% of the women. Fewer men (18%) than women (37%) reported having no children living at home, and more men (18%) than women (6%) had a youngest child aged one to five years.

Table 1

Percent of Administrators by Distribution on Demographic Variables

Variable	Women	Men	Variable	Women	Men
Age			**Family Type***		
35-39 Years	17	17	One Career	9	38
40-44	26	28	Career Part-time Earner	6	17
45-49	31	28	Career Earner	9	13
50-55	26	26	Two Career	77	32
Age at First Marriage			**Years Married**		
18-20 Years	26	5	1-5 Years	0	11
21-25	51	46	6-10	20	9
26-30	9	33	11-15	11	17
31 or more	14	16	16-20	20	32
Education			21-25	23	21
High School/Some college	6	0	26-30	20	9
Bachelor's Degree/Some Graduate Work	14	15	31 and over	6	1
Master's Degree	26	26	**Number of Children**		
Doctoral Degree	54	59	None	23	5
Individual Income			One	6	8
$13,000-19,999	21	6	Two	51	35
20,000-24,999	24	7	Three	14	32
25,000-29,999	21	23	Four or more	6	20
30,000-34,999	3	15	**Age of Youngest Child**		
35,000-39,999	21	15	1-5 Years	6	18
40,000-44,999	6	17	6-10	26	26
45,000 and over	3	17	11-15	17	22
Family Income			16-20	11	15
$25,000-29,999	9	17	21	2	0
30,000-39,999	20	23	No Child Living at Home	37	18
40,000-49,999	31	30			
50,000-59,999	23	19			
60,000-69,999	9	5			
70,000 and over	9	5			

*A career was characterized as being different from a job or earner occupation in the following ways: A career requires a great deal of personal commitment and a high degree of education, and has a continuous developmental character or series of promotional cycles. In the one-career family, the husband was an administrator and the wife was not employed outside the home. In the career-earner family, the husband or wife was an administrator and the spouse was employed in a job or earner occupation. In the two-career family, both spouses were employed in career positions.

Table 2

Measurement and Operational Definitions of Major Variables

Variable	Definition	Response Categories
Career Demand	Extent to which career responsibilities and activities are demanding of time.	Eleven response choices from 0 (Not Demanding At All) to 10 (Extremely Demanding).
Use of Role-Management Strategies	Extent of agreement with 23 items assessing the use of role-management strategies.	Seven response choices from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree).
Family Task Sharing	Amount of responsibility each spouse takes for completion of 20 family tasks seen as integral to day-to-day management of the household.	Wife Only, Wife More Than Husband, Wife and Husband About Same, Husband More Than Wife, Husband Only. Responses were recoded to reflect the extent of dyadic sharing with 1 representing Tasks Not Shared With Spouse, 2 representing Tasks Partly Shared With Spouse, 3 representing Tasks Equally Shared With Spouse.
Sex-Role Orientation	Extent of agreement with 22 items assessing preference for roles which reflect normative prescriptions for behavior in the enactment of family and employment responsibilities.	Seven responses choices from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree).

Measurement and Analysis

The operational definition and measurement information for each variable are presented in Table 2. Demographic data were analyzed by means of frequency tables. Numbers and percentages were obtained for every category of each background variable in order that sample characteristics could be reported. Next, the *t* test procedure was used to compute a *t* statistic to test for significant differences in the mean scores of women and men administrators on identified career and family variables.

Hypotheses

It was hypothesized that there would be no differences between women and men administrators on:

career demand,
use of role-management strategies,
family task sharing, and
sex-role orientation.

Preliminary Analysis

Factor analysis was utilized to identify separate dimensions or categories of the scales assessing use of role-management strategies, division of family tasks, and sex-role orientation. The following role-management strategies were identified: Excuse, Stalling, Compartmentalization, Empathy, Barriers, Reducing Responsibilities, Delegation, and Organization. Though seven family-task categories were revealed by the factor analysis, this study includes only those tasks shown by previous research to be the most time intensive and relevant to the day-to-day management of the household—Child Care tasks, Meal Preparation tasks, and Cleaning tasks (Bird et al., 1984; Robinson, 1977).

Results

The first hypothesis was examined using a *t* test to determine whether a difference existed between women and men administrators on career demand. The results revealed gender differences: women reported careers and professional activities significantly more time demanding than those reported by men. Hypothesis one was not accepted.

Next, scores of women and men administrators were examined to ascertain differences on eight role-management strategies. The *t* tests revealed that women administrators were significantly less likely to use Compartmentalization and Reducing Responsibilities but significantly more likely to use Delegation. The second hypothesis was not accepted for those three role-management strategies, but was accepted for the remaining five strategies.

Additional *t* tests were conducted to compare scores for women and men on three measures of family-task sharing. The procedure demonstrated a significant difference on Meal Preparation only. Women reported more spousal sharing of planning menus, shopping for food, food preparation, and after-meal cleanup. The third hypothesis was not accepted for Meal Preparation, but was accepted for Child Care and Cleaning tasks.

To test hypothesis four, scores of women and men administrators were examined to determine if differences existed on five dimensions of sex-role orientation. The *t* tests established that women were significantly more egalitarian on all five dimensions. Hypothesis four was not accepted.

Discussion and Conclusions

The data from this survey support the general hypothesis that women administrators are different from men on certain personal, career, and family variables. Women marry at a younger age, have fewer children, and earn less salary than male colleagues in similar positions, age range, and educational level. Women administrators are much more likely to be part of a two-career family and to score significantly higher on career demand than males.

Their high level of employment responsibilities, coupled with the fact that a large proportion (77%) of women administrators live in two-career families, increases the potential for role overload. Past research illustrates that when both spouses are involved in high-intensive occupations, neither is likely to receive the career and family support that is typical of the one-career and to some extent the career-earner

family (Holstrom, 1973; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1976; Scanzoni, 1980). Women in high-status positions have been observed to integrate family and employment roles in a manner similar to that of career men (Kanter, 1977). Career-oriented women work long hours and often bring work-related materials home for evening and weekend review. This time devoted to employment roles in excess of the normal work day influences the time available to carry out family roles. Because women have traditionally held the major responsibility for family roles, they, more than men, may feel under pressure to set time priorities so as to maximize their performance in both roles.

When asked about their use of eight role-management strategies (techniques used to cope with time and energy constraints), women reported usage about the same as that of men. In order of most to least use, women used Organization, Empathy, Delegation, and Stalling; men relied on Organization, Empathy, Stalling, and Barriers. There were three notable differences between men and women administrators. Women were significantly more likely to delegate tasks and significantly less likely to reduce responsibilities on the job by changing their standards of performance, saying "no" to avoid an overload of employment activities, or using home responsibilities to justify not accepting more job responsibilities. Women were also significantly less likely to compartmentalize—to leave work roles behind and concentrate solely on family roles when at home. Though Compartmentalization may seem to be the ideal solution to role conflict, employment roles frequently have a way of expanding into at-home time. And, new research findings suggest that children might fare better in a society that does not try to disguise and deny the interdependence of work and family responsibilities (Hayes & Kamerman, 1983).

The division of family tasks is another important issue for the administrative family. If women are highly committed to career responsibilities, it could be expected that husbands would share a larger proportion of the family work. Yet, while husbands of women administrators do share Child Care tasks to a large extent, and accept responsibility for a significantly greater amount of the Meal Preparation tasks than do other husbands, women administrators still have the major responsibility for most family tasks.

Women administrators are more egalitarian on every dimension of sex-role orientation than are men; they strongly believe in interchangeable roles. These beliefs, coupled with their high degree of education and job commitment, should make them better negotiators for equity in family and employment roles (Scanzoni, 1978). Scanzoni (1979) suggested that women who are more egalitarian aspire to higher levels of education and higher status career positions. He hypothesized:

> Once involved in their occupations, their sex-role orientations may have motivated them to perform at a higher level (i.e. work harder) which, in turn, may have resulted in more rapid advancement ... if their husbands actually did participate more fully in domestic chores—then that situation would probably 'release' women to make greater inputs into and receive greater benefits from their occupations (p. 797).

The men administrators in this study reported having more accommodating family structures than those of the women. Fifty-five percent reported being married to women who were not employed or employed part-time. Past research shows that wives of high-status men generally describe their primary role as contributing to the husband's productivity through provision of at-home support systems. Even when the wife has a job, the husband's career is viewed as the source of the family's status and economic security. His occupation is still the most influential on family management and decision-making (Erikson et al., 1979).

It should be emphasized that 32% of the men administrators were married to career-employed spouses. In addition, the men were found to share child care to a large extent and to take some responsibility for other family work. Thus, though they are less sex-role egalitarian than women administrators, these men are not entirely unaffected by the newly emerging societal norms for family involvement. However, despite these more egalitarian family

behaviors, it is still obvious that men administrators typically have a more supportive family environment in which to achieve their career goals than do women.

On the whole, this study reveals that there are differences in family-related variables as well as career and demographic characteristics between married women and men administrators. Women have a different perception of appropriate husband-wife roles. They view their careers as more demanding and are more likely to marry men who also have demanding careers. Women report having fewer children than men and are also more likely to be childless. In addition, they are less likely to have young children. Perhaps number and spacing of children is as much a role-management strategy for these women as is orgnization of time and delegation of tasks.

Apparently, since support (other than economic) has not been viewed as part of a husband's role responsibilities, women administrators married to men who assume a nurturant role in their lives feel especially fortunate and often mention it as a contribution to their success, both at home and on the job.

It is noteworthy that both women and men administrators acknowledge spousal support—emotional as well as physical. Other studies have revealed similar results (Holstrom, 1973; Rapaport & Rapaport, 1976). Apparently, since support (other than economic) has not been viewed as part of a husband's role responsibilities, women administrators married to men who assume a nurturant role in their lives feel especially fortunate and often mention it as a contribution to their success, both at home and on the job.

The fact remains, however, that the married woman administrator is still the exception rather than the norm. Most administrators are married men or single women. Having a career, being married, and raising children are extremely demanding roles; women administrators who choose to combine these roles are survivors in a system that does not easily forgive "inadequate" performance in any of these realms.

Footnotes

[1]The larger study contained data from 130 men and 50 women administrators, all of whom were married and whose spouses also responded to the survey. A smaller number of women than men administrators were available for study because a much greater percentage of the women responded that they were single and thus ineligible to participate in the study. The sample was further reduced to 77 men and 35 women administrators to ensure homogeneity by age range. Age has been found to influence family structure and personal ideology. (Scanzoni, 1975; 1978).

[2]Tables providing detailed results of the *t* tests and factor analyses of family tasks and role-management strategies are available on request from the author and have been published elsewhere (Bird et al., 1983; Bird et al., 1984).

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Dual-Career Couples in Higher Education

Marjorie Weishaar, Kathy Chiaravalli, and Ferdinand Jones

This survey of 45 dual-career couples at Brown University identified the conflicts and solutions of professionals simultaneously pursuing academic careers and bearing family responsibilities. Comparisons were made between males and females, couples with children and those without, couples under 40 years of age and older couples, and between this sample and one from business and industry.

A dual-career couple is defined in the literature as two persons engaged in a lifestyle in which each individual pursues a separate career role along with a committed love relationship (Rapaport & Rapaport, 1976; Parker, Peltier, & Wolleat, 1981). Over the past ten years, the incidence of dual-career marriages has been steadily rising at a rate of 7 percent per year (New York *Times*, 1983). In 1979, there were three million dual-career couples in the United States. In September of 1983, the Insurance Information Institute and the Labor Department published statistics that indicated from 25 percent to 33 percent of all married couples had both partners "permanently committed" (working 40 weeks or more a year) to the work force. This excludes unmarried couples who are living together and homosexual couples (New York *Times*, 1983).

Although the prevalence of dual-career couples is increasing, we know relatively little about them. Research on the characteristics, conflicts, and choices of these partners does not appear in the literature prior to 1971. The most extensive study of dual-career couples was conducted in 1980 by Catayst, a New York based research corporation, and sampled 815 couples in business (Catalyst, 1980). Information on couples pursuing careers in higher education remains lacking.

The purposes of the present study were to compare the quality of life of couples in a university setting with that of couples in business, to gain knowledge of how dual-career couples survive and solve problems, and to learn more about the experience of males in dual-career couples, since earlier literature focuses almost exclusively on women's multiple roles and adaptations.

One goal of the study was to provide information to college students anticipating dual-career coupleship about how such couples manage the responsibilities and rewards of a life-style that includes both a commitment to an egalitarian relationship and full participation in work. The other goal was to provide institutions with information which could assist in the recruitment and retention of professionals who are part of dual-career couples. If there is a commitment to hiring women, or

to hiring similarly qualified men, and as the incidence of dual-career marriages increases 7 percent a year, our universities must develop strategies to accommodate the trend.

Method

From a list of all faculty and staff exempt employees at Brown University, 300 individuals were randomly selected. Two questionnaires were mailed to each person along with an explanation of the study, a definition of a dual-career couple, assurance of confidentialty, and a promise of a copy of the results. Thus, one member of each couple was affiliated with Brown as a professional-level employee, but there was no guarantee that all of the couples were dual-career couples. Respondents had to self-select for inclusion in the study. Another limitation of the approach was that only married couples are represented in the survey. Campus advertising to recruit volunteers yielded few additional respondents. Because of these limitations, only 91 (15%) of the questionnaires were completed. This produced a potentially biased sample, but sources of bias are difficult to assess because of lack of follow-up calls or letters to nonrespondents.

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The questionnaire asked respondents for information concerning age, job title and department, number of years in the profession, years in the present position, and number of hours worked per week. Couples were asked to rank their reasons for choosing to work at Brown. They were also asked the number of years they have been part of a dual-career couple, how many children they have, and who has primary responsibility for childcare. Questions also concerned whose career they considered more important, who had relocated for whom, what types of leaves were taken when the children were born, and what type of childcare they had used. We asked them about how they divide responsibilities and how satisfied they have been with their combination of career and marriage. They were asked about their satisfaction with the childcare choices they had made and what were the effects on their children being in a dual-career family. We asked about living arrangements—do they live together most of the week or apart, do they commute, and what percentage of their week is spent commuting. We asked them whether they would use various employee benefits. We asked how often they felt competitive with their spouses. Couples also ranked the disadvantages of being part of a dual-career couple. We asked them to provide solutions to problems relating to allocation of time, finances, communication, household chores, and relocation decisions.

Comparisons were made between men and women, couples with children and those without, couples under 40 years of age and older couples, and between this sample and the Catalyst business sample. Our hypotheses were that few differences between this sample and the Catalyst sample would be found, and that sex differences would be found, with women perceiving more role strain and less satisfaction and doing more to balance home and career than men.

Results

Demographic Characteristics

The average age of the sample is approximately 40 (wives–38, husbands–42). Fifty-six percent of the respondents are women, 44 percent men. They have spent an average of 12 years in their professions and 6 years in their current positions. They represent 24 departments and at least one-half of the subjects are instructors or professors. Our respondents average about

50 (women–33, men–55) work hours per week. They have been partners in dual-career marriages an average of 12 years and they have an average of 3 children.

The data suggest that many of the subjects are juggling multiple demands (e.g., half of the respondents are below 40 and have held their positions for four years or less, 74 percent have one or more children). Compared to the corporate couples surveyed by Catalyst, our sample is older (by about 10 years), married about three years longer, and averages one more child.

Sex differences. There are several striking sex differences in responses. One of the most important differences is that women are much less likely to consider their careers more important than or equally important to those of their husbands. None of the women considers her career more important than her husband's, whereas 15 percent of the men consider their careers more important than those of their spouses. Seventy-five percent of the husbands consider their relationships equal, while only 55 percent of the wives consider their relationships equal.

The most frequently cited reason husbands and wives consider the husband's career more important is financial; men make more money than women. The earnings gap between men and women is growing, even in the managerial job category (Wall Street *Journal*, 1983). In their book *American Couples*, Blumstein and Schwartz (1983) similarly report that earnings largely determine the balance of power in relationships. Thus, until the earnings gap is reduced, the career importance issue will not be resolved.

Sex differences were also noted in the relocation pattern. Women are much more likely to follow their husbands for career purposes. Only 3 percent of the men ever moved exclusively for their wives' careers, but 43 percent of the women followed their husbands for career purposes, a finding consistent with other studies. The Catalyst study and the *Monthly Labor Review* (1983) considered the relocation question extensively. In the *Monthly Labor Review*, couples explained that they made relocation decisions in terms of effect on the whole household. Thus, it is likely that if men continue to get paid more, the relocation patterns will continue to follow the trend that has developed.

Another sex difference is that women are much more likely to be the primary givers of childcare. About 20 percent of the wives are primarily responsible for childcare. One husband thought that he was primarily responsible for childcare, but his wife didn't agree. Seventy-eight percent of the men and 80 percent of the women said both parents share responsibility for childcare.

Most wives took time off for childcare when their infants were born, usually two months to a year, but 20 percent took no time off. Thirteen percent of the men took time off for children, but that usually meant two or three vacation days. Surprisingly, even two or three days off is more time than men in the business group took off when their children were born.

Results showed that women feel much more pressure to do well in their roles as parent, spouse, and worker than men do. Despite feeling more pressure to do everything well, a greater percentage of women were very satisfied with their combination of career and family than were men (78% of the women and 65% of the men were very satisfied).

Children. The implications of childbearing for dual-career couples are significant. The fertility rate for dual-career couples is declining and delayed fertility seems to be a factor. The Catalyst study indicates that both men and women in dual-career couples are very apprehensive about their abilities to balance family and career. Indeed, our results show that, among couples with children, pressure to do well is more problematic. Pressure to do everything well was rated the second largest problem of the wives in couples with children and the third largest problem of their husbands. (Too much to do was first.) Wives may be under more pressure, since they shoulder more responsibility for childcare. Wives usually transport the children, arrange sick-day care, and solve other related problems.

Among those couples who have children, it is even more likely that the husband's career is considered more important than it

is among childless couples. This makes sense because a number of the wives have reduced their attachment to the labor force while their children are young. In addition, money was cited much more frequently as an important advantage of the dual-career lifestyle for couples with children.

The couples who have children are less satisfied with their combination of career and family, particularly the women, relative to couples without children. Thus, women expressed a greater range of satisfaction than men. In general, women are more satisfied than men, unless they have children. The only respondents who reported any dissatisfactions were women with children.

Age. The results of this study also show important differences in regard to age. Husbands and wives under 40 are more likely to consider each other's career equally important than are couples over 40. Perceptions of career importance and satisfaction levels are more consistent between couples under 40. Money is more important to couples under 40, especially for the men. For men under 40, money is the most important advantage of combining career and family.

One of the disadvantages identified by the entire sample is lack of time to spend with the husband or wife, but this problem was particularly acute for those under 40. It appears that as couples age, they become less concerned about sharing time together or have found ways to be together. They also see autonomy as an advantage more than the younger group does.

Women over 40 report being very satisfied with their combinations of career and family while their husbands are only moderately satisfied. This could be because men over 40 were socialized traditionally and those who have chosen the dual-career lifestyle are experiencing dissonance about having to get by with less nurturance and services from their wives. The over 40 group also suffers from more role conflict—probably because they are trailblazers.

Catalyst

Major differences and similarities appeared between this study and the Catalyst survey. The most noteworthy difference is that money is much more important for the Catalyst respondents. Money is the most important advantage of combining dual-career lifestyle for the Catalyst group. Among our group, personal growth is most important, autonomy is second, and money is third most important. In our sample, only for men under 40 is money the major advantage. Even among couples with children in our sample, money is not the most important advantage of combining career and family.

The relocation patterns in the Catalyst survey are consistent with ours: the Catalyst wives tend to relocate much more frequently for husbands than husbands for wives. The time allocation problem is the greatest disadvantage among the Catalyst couples. This is consistent with our results. Problems with allocating time, not enough leisure time, too much to do are the most important disadvantages for our group. The childcare responsibilities are consistent as well, with wives bearing primary responsibility.

Finally, in the Catalyst study, women see their careers as equal to, or less important than, their husbands'. Women in this sample are more likely than those in the Brown sample to view the careers of husband and wife as equally important. The women in the Catalyst group earn less money than the men. However, it is not known whether the salary gap is actually smaller in the business sample than the academic one.

Conclusions and Implications

Our initial hypotheses, that there would be few differences between the sample in higher education and the one in business and industry and that women would perceive more role strains and be less satisfied than men, were only partially supported. Although time allocation is the major problem in managing home and career for both groups, the importance of money appears to be greater in the business sample. In addition, solutions to dual-career problems also differed. The Brown group and Catalyst women suggested household help; the Brown couples suggested more flexible employer practices, less demanding careers, and jobs in the same town; and the Catalyst men desired

more time, more success, and more money.

Couples in our sample were quite satisfied with the dual-career marriage. Ninety-seven percent of our sample reported being very or moderately satisfied with their combinations of marriage and career. The Catalyst sample reported moderate satisfaction of its couples. Although in the Catalyst sample both husbands and wives were equally happy with their marriages and with the combination of marriage and career, wives were significantly happier with their careers than were their husbands.

Couples in our sample were quite satisfied with the dual-career marriage. Ninety-seven percent of our sample reported being very or moderately satisfied with their combinations of marriage and career.

In the academic sample, women's responses covered a greater range than men's. Women were more likely than men to be very satisfied with the combination of career and marriage, but were also the only respondents (3) who reported some dissatisfaction. Women with children appear less satisfied than other women, and women over 40 years of age are far more satisfied than are their husbands.

Feeling pressure to do everything well may be an indirect assessment of perfectionism and in our sample, as in Catalyst's, women felt this to a greater extent than men. In view of the associations found between perfectionism and the number of problems reported in the Catalyst sample, the way one handles multiple roles, rather than the number of roles held, may be a big factor in satisfaction.

Institutional changes recommended by couples in higher education were, in order of preference, flextime, leave with job assurance, and a "cafeteria" approach to benefits, whereby employees could select from a group of benefits depending on their needs. Flexible working hours typically result in improved productivity, and job sharing is particularly viable for design project-oriented positions. Leave with or without pay and services may assist employees with role overload pressures and thus may prevent stress from impairing productivity and health. Finally, while cafeteria benefits programs are usually expensive for the institution, they may be worthwhile in terms of attracting professionals to higher education.

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The Importance of Professional Involvement

Peggy Elder

This article discusses the desirability of active participation by women administrators in professional associations.

> Each day we march off to an invisible war. We fight battles we don't know we're in, we seldom understand what we're fighting for, and worst of all, some of our best friends turn out to be the enemy. Our average work day consists of going to the office, sitting in meetings, speaking on the telephone—talking to people. Yet we limp home physically battered and mentally anguished. It's like getting attacked by a neutron bomb—the buildings are intact, but the people are decimated (Culbert & McDonough, 1980, p. 3).

Although this is an unusually grim view of an administrator's day, anyone who has served in a managerial position—whether in business, government, or education—will admit to having had such an experience somewhere along the way. Why, then, would any right-minded person pursue such a devastating job, or accept one if proffered?

While it is initially easy to agree with Kenneth Eble that "complete sanity is probably not as desirable in administrators as it appears," (Eble, 1978, p. 70), the fact is that most enduring organizations are being managed more or less well by people who derive various satisfactions from doing so. These "satisfactions" have been identified as "small, but tangible achievements" (Eble, 1978, p. 72) which result in some accrual of responsibility, recognition, money, advancement, and a sense of accomplishment (Culbert & McDonough, 1980, p. 60). Interviews with 25 managers to determine their reasons for continuing to "limp home" each day would probably generate 25 different reasons, but one can summarize them best by agreeing with Adler that people must feel useful and wanted, and with Frankl, who writes that each life must have meaning (Aery, 1977, p. 47).

The "invisible war," of course, has been for the most part fought by men, since few administrative positions have been held by women until recently. As late as 1970-71, it was possible to publish a survey of state universities and land-grant colleges which "showed that the median number of women in top-level administrative jobs was zero" (Arter, 1973, p. 13). It is encouraging to note that a follow-up study conducted in 1978 reported the median number of women at 19 (*Women in Administration*, 1979, p. 1); another survey found that, in 1980, women held 16 percent of the administrative positions on college and university campuses (Cowan, 1980, p. 48). What the absolute number might be is almost impossible to ascertain at this point. Although "seven of eight lowest paying non-academic administrative positions include the highest proportion of women" (Astin, 1978, p. 81), and the only administrative position which is held by a sizable representation of whites, minorities, males, and females is that of affirmative action officer (*Higher Education and National Affairs*, 1977, p. 7), the change in a short time is significant and should be applauded.

The intent of this essay is not to belabor the fact that there are still relatively few women in top-level administrative positions, but rather to recognize that they do exist and that their numbers are growing, and perhaps to identify some ways—primarily through involvement with professional associations—to assist their growth and development.

Volumes have been written about the differences in the socialization processes for men and women in our society, the sexually unique behaviors which those differences produce and either the inevitability or modifiability of those behaviors. A quick review of those differences in specialization—as they impact on administrative style—is offered as a context in which to view the role of the professional association in the life of the female administrator.

The lists of dichotomous behaviors identified as outgrowths of our socialization usually include, but are not limited to: competitiveness-passiveness; aggressiveness-submissiveness, and protectiveness-nurturance. Although they are expressed in different terms by various writers, the literature of the past 40 years reveals general agreement on the differences between male and female behavior, summarized most simply by the "Me, Tarzan; You, Jane" mentality of Saturday afternoon matinees. In order to test some of these long-reported differences, and determine how they are reflected in the minds of male and female administrators, Hennig and Jardim interviewed dozens of managers outside of higher education, reporting their results in *The Managerial Woman* (1977).

They found that men and women indeed do approach their careers from two entirely different viewpoints. Having participated in competitive sports since childhood, men move into administrative positions and quickly learn the game plan, working with other members of the team to get the job done. Women, on the other hand, have been taught to be noncompetitive and, until recently, have probably not participated in competitive sports to any significant degree. Consequently, when women move into administrative positions, they are likely to complete on their own the assignments given to them, having learned that self-actualization is more important than winning. Men, of course, know that women have not had team experience and consequently cannot trust them to administer that in which they have never participated.

Another difference noted by Hennig and Jardim was the likelihood that man began career planning early—or at least assumed a long work life; women often reported that they had simply "been in the right place at the right time," or had somehow gotten where they were by accident. Since many managerial women think "it just happened," they do not know how to use their past experiences in their present positions, and have rarely assessed—or even identified—their strengths and weaknesses.

A third difference Hennig and Jardim noted focused on the emphasis men place on their supervisor's expectations of them; women tend to see their own self-concept as more important in developing style. If true, this means that many women will miss the cues and signals from their supervisors—and others in the organizational environment—which can be so important in the decision-making process, and ultimately in one's own career pattern. Since the research reported here did not include academic managers, one must be careful not to assume complete similarity between the two groups. There is some evidence, in fact, that the female manager in higher education may be aware of the comments of her male supervisor, but may not always know how to interpret them. This may be especially true if he is unaccustomed to evaluating women, and thus includes criteria inappropriate to the evaluation of the performance itself. The most obvious of these would be his evaluation of her "femininity," "ability to fit in," and the degree to which she is "nonthreatening" (Aery, 1977, p. 47).

Assuming that there are similarities between academic and nonacademic administrators, Hennig and Jardim's observations regarding male and female perceptions of their careers should be helpful when discussing the environment in which administrative women work. Men report their work as integral to their lives,

while women tend to view their jobs as secondary, not wanting them to interfere with their "real lives." Although published in 1977, Hennig and Jardim's research was based on interviews conducted with 108 managers during 1973. If the process were repeated today, one would hope a change in perceptions would be reported. In fact, interviews McGee conducted in 1978 with 35 women presidents, do suggest a stronger career orientation, although 94 percent of the group reported "chance" played a "significant" or "very significant" part in their ascent to the presidency (McGee, 1979).

It is somewhat easier to accept the results of the Hennig and Jardim study if one notes that a report published the same year, ironically titled *Women and Management: An Expanding Role*, suggested that "aspiring women executives—if they hope to succeed—must shed or camouflage their femininity and avoid, at any cost, stimulating competitiveness among the males in the organization." The author goes on to suggest that

> Such aspiring women must themselves become as docile and uninspired as the typical 'organizational man,' lest any spark of creativity, originality, initiative, or independence ignite fears and insecurities of the male and/or explode his competitiveness —which may damage the stability of the organization. These conditions will continue as long as men remain insecure, locked in the organizational hierarchies of fear (Jewell, 1977, p. 192).

It is particularly disheartening to quote the recommendation to become "docile and uninspired," when the cry reverberating throughout bureaucratic organizations in general, and higher education in particular, is for the development of an innovative and ethical approach to the delivery of the organization's goods or services. Although some may take exception to the depiction of higher education as a bureaucracy—preferring to think of it as a community of scholars or a political state—at least one definition of a bureaucratic organization makes the comparison inevitable: it must be large, highly specialized, and composed of a hierarchy of authority which produces status anxiety among its members. It must also be oligarchical and, to a certain extent, indulge in co-optation (Presthus, 1965).

Even more alarming is the fear that women will be catalysts for the organizational instability of the organization, especially when it has been noted that "in schools with women administrators, the self-image and career aspirations of female students, and in fact, the total school climate is generally of higher than usual caliber and quality" (Clement, 1978, p. 50). The enhancement of women's self-images, and improvement of the school climate, of course, may be a kind of disruption, but one which most administrators would surely welcome.

Igniting the fears and insecurities of the male, however, is a concern which cannot be ignored or taken lightly when a woman decides to pursue a nontraditional career in higher education administration, or any other corporate structure, for that matter. In a very personal and poignant account of the experiences leading to the nonrenewal of her teaching contract after three years, Linda Nielsen writes that "a woman's entry into an all-male group has seldom received initial support," and cautions that "women's accomplishments ... may often threaten the values and security of the very men from whom approval is sought" (Nielsen, 1979, p. 471). It may be that her latter statement provides an alternate explanation for Hennig and Jardim's finding that women pay less attention to the cues of their male supervisors than do men, for if the women do recognize that their accomplishments have threatened the men, what useful evaluation is likely to be forthcoming? It may be the ultimate double-bind: damned if you do perform, and damned if you don't. Although it has also been noted that women sometimes carry their reported nurturing skills into the workplace, Nielsen suggests that we cannot make all changes for men nonthreatening. Women, she notes, as a result of sex role socialization, have some difficulties to overcome:

> over-reliance on male approval, passivity or nonassertiveness, ambivalence and anxiety over contradictory female roles, inclination toward self-blame and guilt, affiliative needs which interfere with achievement, motivation, and discrimination from other females (Nielsen, 1979, p. 474).

Given the fact that administering an organization can be compared with fighting

an "invisible war," that differences in the socialization of men and women have led to some real differences in perceptions and behaviors, that the numbers of women administrators in higher education are increasing, and finally that their existence seems to have a positive effect on the quality of the environment, we can tentatively conclude that it may be a nasty job, but someone's got to do it. It might as well be done by women and men together. The balance of this article outlines the ways in which involvement with a professional association can enhance women's skills, enlarge their circle of peers, benefit their home institutions, and expose predominantly male association membership to competent female administrators.

Although a profession may be defined in various ways, it is generally agreed that where there is a systematic body of knowledge, a code of ethics, an identifiable culture, recognized authority, and community sanction (Nixon & Gue, 1975, p. 1), there exists a profession. Thus a professional association is one which attempts to "encourage excellence and creative leadership" in the particular field, provide "continuing opportunity for professional contact, expression, and growth, and cultivate professional attitudes, ideals, and standards" (Scott, 1980, p. 128).

The reasons for becoming involved in an association which purports to "encourage excellence, provide peers, recognition, training, direction, guidance, rewards, and information" (Scott, 1980, p. 125) are fairly obvious; however, choosing the most appropriate association may not always be an easy decision. Although many professions have only one or two associations from which to choose, others, such as higher education administration, have several.

When choosing a professional association with which to become affiliated, it is important to establish criteria to measure the value of that organization for the individual. One should probably review

the organization's goals (to make sure they are compatible with the individual's own goals and objectives)

its membership (to determine whether or not its people are engaged in activities similar to one's own)

its organizational structure (to determine the likelihood of becoming actively involved)

the programs and services it provides (to determine whether or not membership will actually offer opportunities not otherwise available)

the organization's reputation (to ascertain if it does what it says it does)

Given the fact that administering an organization can be compared with fighting an "invisible war," that differences in the socialization of men and women have led to some real differences in perceptions and behaviors, that the numbers of women administrators in higher education are increasing, and finally that their existence seems to have a positive effect on the quality of the environment, we can tentatively conclude that it may be a nasty job, but someone's got to do it. It might as well be done by women and men together.

While some might discourage the "shopping-mall" approach to selecting a professional association, others have found it a useful technique as they move from one level of administrative responsibility to another. As a residence hall advisor, for example, one's primary association might well be the Association of College and University Housing Officers (ACUHO). As one moves into a position with greater diversity, however, the American College Personnel Association (ACPA) might be

the organization of choice; and the chief student personnel officer is most likely to choose the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA), or the American Association for Higher Education (AAHE). Academic administrators who move up through their respective disciplines, might well begin with the Academy of Management, the American Association of University Professors, or the Society of American Archivists, moving—as they do—into the Council of Colleges of Arts and Sciences, the American Association of University Administrators, or the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges.

Loyalty to one association may limit such movement, but if one continues to apply the criteria while moving through the administrative ranks, it is quite likely that the organization which met the young professional's needs will no longer satisfy the concerns and interests of the graduate school dean. Dual membership, of course, is always a possibility.

The third criterion suggested for choosing a professional association presumes interest in becoming involved with the organization, not just being content to receive its newsletters, attend its conferences, and vote for its officers—(although one cannot deny that this, too, is a level of involvement).

In the context of this article, involvement assumes these activities, and more, and is suggested as particularly important for the woman interested in a career in college or university administration. Her involvement is also important for her male colleagues. Nielsen suggests that "men who do not have professional associates who are women may experience confusion and conflict as a result of generalizing from other kinds of experiences with women" (Nielsen, 1979, p. 473), and Terwilliger notes that "some of the mystique of the mother-son relationship carries over into the attitudes of the mature male" (Terwilliger, 1976, p. 10).

If the latter is true, and "many men are still culturally attuned to woman as a creature who requires careful tending, and who is somewhat fragile in emotions and physical strength" (Terwilliger, 1976, p. 10), then Clement's admonition to develop "professional visibility . . . by volunteering for committees within (one's) own . . . university and by taking an active part in professional associations" (1978, p. 62), becomes something of a mandate. Participating in the professional association—whether as the chair of a committee, conference presenter, or newsletter editor—assures at least some degree of visibility for the individual and the institution. It also permits male and female colleagues to meet in an environment where competition between sexes is less important than teamwork, where one can respond to cues which are likely to be more straightforward than at the home institution, where career concerns are integral to the life one lives, and where planning for future success is inherent in the situation. There will be few who doubt the female conference chair's commitment to the profession, even if she is also found to have a husband and child.

Pearlstein suggests that there is still a challenge to win acceptance by one's "new colleagues at professional meetings," but recommends that women "should, for example, not wait to be asked to join a group of professionals, but go right along—participate in social activities" (1980, p. 5), thus developing self-confidence, and enabling male colleagues to overcome the mother-son—or possibly virgin-harlot—image which may interfere with collegial relationships on the home campus.

If it is true that "the subculture of the profession emerges from the interaction of the individuals in formal and informal settings" (Nixon & Gue, 1975, p. 1), then it is imperative that women participate fully in the activities of the association, whether through conference presentations or conference toasts.

Perhaps it goes without saying that while one is engaged in such interaction, one's communication, decision-making, and human relations skills are being tested and honed, even as one discusses the issues of the day. These and other skills may be further refined through participation in a workshop on management techniques, a panel charged with responding to a highly technical hypothesis, or a general meeting of the membership. Such participation reflects positively on the home institution;

the participant is also enlarging her circle of friends and acquaintances, establishing a network of male and female colleagues, and learning more about her chosen profession. She is also exposing male peers to a competent, thoughtful woman who shares their intellectual curiosity, commitment to the profession, and dedication to excellence.

> Maintaining oneself in the profession includes reading, researching/writing/attending conferences, workshops and seminars, corresponding with colleagues, and being concerned with ethical and legal issues. Becoming a deeply committed member of the professional world is a source of continued support. In addition, this will assist you in entering the circle of capable, established individuals who have power in the institution (Scher & Barr, 1979, p. 532).

While one may argue that developing access to institutional power is not a reason for participating in a professional association, and in fact may agree with Cowan that "women can find no encouragement in the model of power and status (1980, p. 48), its existence is a fact of life. Administrators at all levels of the organization can identify those who have a lot of power and those who have little, and if it is true that "women are generally absent where power and status are prominent" (Cowan, 1980, p. 48), then our institutions of higher education are still not fully utilizing the talent that is available to them. And that, perhaps, is the bottom line.

According to Sanford,

> had the modern university been as much in the hands of women as in the hands of men, or had it been guided by a conception of the shared destiny of women and men, its structure and functioning would have been very different from what it is today (1975, p. 86).

Sanford is disturbingly mute on just how that difference would have manifested itself, but he does note the "mechanical, masculine" style of management with its "emphasis on differentiation of function, specialization, precise role definition, efficiency, and . . . the use of status competition as the motive force for keeping the machinery going" (Sanford, 1980, p. 86). Sassen (1980), on the other hand, cites the research of Kanter, who observed the importance of relationships for women in corporate management, and suggests that "women now need to focus on affirming the structures and values they bring to the question of competition versus relationships and start reconstructing institutions according to what women know (p. 22).

Women and men working together in professional associations have a unique opportunity, away from their structured campus roles, to practice relating to each other as equals—perhaps the most important reason of all to become involved with a professional association.

In an effort to validate the reported importance of participation in a professional association for the women in educational administration, a questionnaire was sent to 60 women in the United States who have been previously identified (Donohue, 1980, personal correspondence) as vice presidents (or above) at state-funded institutions. Of the 20 women who submitted useable responses, ten (50%) indicated they belong (currently) to four or more professional associations, and of that number, four (20%) are office holders. Another six (30%) indicated they belong to two or three professional associations, while only two (10%) of the respondents do not belong to any professional associations at all.

Five of sixteen who commented on the importance of their participation in professional associations to their career development indicated that they have not been so involved, or that such involvement has not been important. The remaining eleven, including one president, five vice chancellors, and six vice presidents, reported that such participation has been "essential to the administrative operation with sister institutions" (from one who chaired a state higher education coordinating council), and "invaluable" in terms of the contacts made for the individual and the institution (from a person heavily involved in national, regional, and community associations).

Such a small sample precludes a sophisticated analysis of the actual relationship between participation in a professional association and career development, but the comments of a vice president for fiscal affairs provide a fitting conclusion to this discussion of professional development.

Although she begins by discounting the importance of her participation in professional organizations, she goes on to note that

> what those outside involvements have done is to keep me sane and to offer exposure to a broad range of people which make appointments to boards and national committees a possibility. I believe it is more difficult to discriminate against women in higher education who have earned a reputation on the 'outside' and it does facilitate one's personal development.

If the "invisible war" is to be ended—with a minimum of psychological bloodshed—talented administrators of both sexes must work together to understand their differences of style and substance, but more important, their similarities, in terms of intellectual curiosity, professional commitment, and dedication to excellence.

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Women Faculty and Administrators in Higher Education: Changes in Their Status Since 1972

Claire Etaugh

This paper examines changes over the past decade in the status of women faculty and administrators in higher education. The data indicate that although the status of women faculty and administrators has improved somewhat, much remains to be accomplished. While the proportion of women faculty has increased, women still are concentrated in a small number of fields, in the lower ranks, and at less prestigious institutions. They are paid less than male faculty and are likely to be less tenured. Similarly, women administrators are underrepresented in high-level positions, especially at public coeducational institutions, and are paid less than men. For both faculty and administrators, sex differentials with regard to salary, rank, tenure, and position have remained fairly constant over the last ten years.

As noted by Astin and Snyder (1982), several important pieces of affirmative action legislation were enacted in 1972, designed to improve the status of women in higher education. This article examines changes over the past decade in the status of women faculty and administrators.

Previous assessments of such changes either have focused exclusively on faculty (e.g. Astin & Snyder, 1982) or on administrators (e.g. Frances & Mensel, 1981; Van Alstyne & Withers, 1977), or have looked at both faculty and administrators but only up through the mid-1970s (e.g., Howard, 1978; Gappa & Uehling, 1979). Since, as Gappa and Uehling have pointed out, information in this area quickly becomes out of date, the purpose of this report is to provide an updated review of the changing status of women faculty and administrators, using the most current information available as of 1984.

Women Faculty

Discipline and Type of Institution

The proportion of all full-time faculty who are women has grown over the last decade from 22.3% in 1972 to 27.1% in 1981 (Vetter, Babco, & Jensen-Fisher, 1983). Women, however, are not equally distributed throughout the various academic disciplines and types of institutions. They tend to be clustered in a small number of fields typically stereotyped as feminine: English, foreign languages, nursing, home economics, fine arts, and library science (Freeman, 1977; Gappa & Uehling, 1979). Women as a percent of science and engineering faculty increased from 14.7% to 18.9% between 1974 and 1982, with the greatest change (5.2%) occurring in psychology, and the smallest (1.4%) in engineering (Vetter et al., 1983).

The proportion of women is least at universities, greater at 4-year colleges, and greatest at 2-year colleges. Further, women are more likely to be found at public than at private institutions. These patterns have not changed during the last decade.

Salary

Women faculty are paid less than their male counterparts at every rank, across

disciplines, and in all types of institutions. Moreover, this situation has remained virtually unchanged over the last decade: In 1972-73, men's salaries exceeded women's by 17.1% (Spencer & Bradford, 1982); in 1982-83, the comparable figure was 17.9% ("Men's and Women's Salaries," 1983).

For women who have been in academia the longest, the salary discrepancy is greatest. Thus, salary differentials are greatest for full professors. This is true regardless of discipline (Spencer & Bradford, 1982). Futhermore, the situation has changed little in the last decade. A survey by the National Research Council (1981) found that academic women who had completed PhDs prior to 1960 earned 11% less than comparable men. The discrepancy for those receiving doctorates in the 1960s was 10%, and for those earning doctorates in 1970-78, 5%.

Although sex differences in salary exist in every discipline, the greatest discrepancies over the years have been found in chemistry and the biological sciences (National Research Council, 1981; Spencer & Bradford, 1982). In recent years, however, as enough women have joined business faculties to permit meaningful comparisons by sex, this field has achieved the dubious distinction of having the greatest salary differentials. Furthermore, sex differences in business salaries widened between 1980 and 1982, whereas they decreased in the humanities and social sciences ("Colleges Give Bigger Raises," 1980; "Men's and Women's Salaries," 1983).

Salary differentials also vary as a function of type of institution—largest in universities, less in 4-year colleges, and least in 2-year colleges. The sex difference is greater in private than in public institutions. The last few years have witnessed a narrowing of the salary gap in the public sector, but an increase in the private sector ("Colleges Give Bigger Raises," 1980; "Men's and Women's Salaries," 1983). It is interesting that salary differentials are greatest in institutions where women are least represented (i.e., universities; private institutions) and are least in institutions with the greatest proportion of women (2-year colleges; public institutions) (Vetter et al., 1983).

Rank

Women advance through the academic ranks more slowly than men and tend to be concentrated in the lower ranks, a situation that has changed little in the last decade. Although women have made gains at all levels, these gains are related inversely to rank, with the least change occurring at the full professor level and the greatest change at the instructor level. In 1981, women accounted for 10.8% of full professors, an increase of only 1% over 1972; however, they constituted 53.3% of all instructors, up 13.4% since 1972. Gains at all ranks above the instructor level have been somewhat greater at private than at public institutions (Vetter et al., 1983).

Another way to analyze data on rank is to examine the distribution of rank within each sex. In 1969, nearly half of all male faculty but only one quarter of female faculty held the ranks of professor and associate professor. Over one-third of women were concentrated at the instructor rank as compared to one-sixth of men (Bayer, 1970). By 1981, upward movement was evident for both sexes, but men were advancing more rapidly than women. Over two-thirds of all men but only slightly more than one-third of women held the two highest ranks. Forty percent of all women were assistant professors as compared to one-quarter of men ("9-Month Faculty Salaries," 1982). Astin and Snyder (1982), in their analysis of changes in percentages of men and women holding different academic ranks between 1972 and 1980, reported that men's status clearly improved while women's apparently declined. They hypothesized that these differences were partly a result of men's greater length of time in academe, and the disproportionate hiring of women at the assistant and associate ranks during the 1970s.

The National Research Council (1981) survey, however, found that even when male and female Ph.D. faculty members were matched in terms of years of expe-

rience, academic discipline, and educational background, the women were less likely to advance in rank than the men. Of those holding doctorates for 20 or more years, 87% of the men but 64% of the women were full professors. For faculty 10-19 years past the doctorate, men were 50% more likely than women to have reached the rank of full professor. Five to nine years past the doctorate, half the men but only one-third of the women were full or associate professors. For every discipline, women were more concentrated than men among assistant professors and nonfaculty appointees. Even among recent PhDs (1975 and later), distribution by rank was less favorable for women. Regardless of time since earning the doctorate, discrepancies in rank were greatest for the biological sciences.

Tenure

In 1972, women were less likely to be tenured than men and that situation still prevails. Astin and Snyder (1982) found that 86.2% of male faculty in their sample were tenured in 1980 as compared to 68.5% in 1972, an increase of 17.7%. The proportion of female faculty with tenure, on the other hand, grew from 54.6 to 68.0%, an increase of only 13.4%. The National Research Council (1981) data indicate that even after controlling for rank, sex differences in tenure status remain in certain fields. Among faculty who had earned doctorates in the 1940s and 1950s, women were significantly less likely to be tenured in biological sciences, psychology, and languages and literature. Of those receiving doctorates in the 1960s, women were less often tenured in mathematics, biological sciences and social science departments. Further, it took women in all fields longer to achieve tenure. Among those faculty earning PhDs since 1975, 25% of women but only 15% of men were in non-tenure track positions.

Recent tenure information gathered from 1,592 institutions by the National Center for Education Statistics ("Faculty Salaries Up," 1982) shows that 69.7% of men and 50.0% of women at all institutions held tenure in 1981-82. Sex differences in tenure are greatest at universities, and least in two-year colleges, and are more pronounced at public than at private institutions.

Women Administrators

Employment patterns

Less information is available regarding women administrators than women faculty. In addition, comparisons over time are difficult to make since studies done at different times have not used the same data bases. Nevertheless, all studies indicate that few women occupy administrative positions, especially high level ones, although some progress has been made in the last decade. Recent data (Frances & Mensel, 1981) indicate that in 1978, women held approximately 20 percent of the top 81 administrative positions in the 1,222 institutions surveyed. The top five positions (i.e., chief executive, academic, planning, business, and student life officers) were dominated by males in both the public and private sectors. This pattern had changed little since 1975. While there were slight increases in the percentages of women holding the positions of chief academic, planning, and business officers, there was virtually no change in the percentage of women chief executives and a decrease in the percentage holding the position of chief student life officer. In 1978, women generally were more likely to hold major administrative offices in private co-educational institutions than in public ones.

Although the percentage of college presidencies held by women has not increased appreciably over the last decade, the absolute number of women presidents has increased substantially from 132 in 1972 (Astin, 1977) to 253 in 1983 (J. Touchton, personal communication, December, 1983). The majority of the women presidents are in private four-year colleges (58%), nearly half of which are women's colleges. A substantial minority of women presidents are members of religious orders (42%), although this percentage has decreased appreciably from 71% in 1975 (American Council on Education, 1982).

Changes in employment patterns of women in over 50 top-level administrative positions were minimal between 1975 and

1978 (Frances & Mensel, 1981). The greatest shift within white coeducational institutions was in external affairs positions. In private women's colleges, the largest increase occurred among chief executive officers. Overall, more changes occurred in the private than in the public sector.

Little change has occurred in the percentage of women deans throughout the last decade, or in their distribution throughout academic disciplines. In 1972, women comprised 13.7% of all deans in over 1,800 institutions (Astin, 1977). Of these, 60% were in nursing and home economics. There were no women deans of dentistry, engineering, medicine, or pharmacy and only two women law deans. In 1978, women held 13.4% of the deanships in public white coeducational institutions and 15.2% at private white coeducational institutions. The majority of these positions were in nursing and home economics. There still were no women deans of dentistry, engineering, medicine, or pharmacy, and no women law deans (Frances & Mensel, 1981). This situation remained virtually unchanged as of 1981 when 13.8% of deanships were held by women, and over half of all women deans were in nursing, home economics, arts and sciences, and continuing education (Moore, 1983). A 1976 survey of 588 colleges and universities (Howard, 1978) found that more than one-third of these institutions had no women deans. Coeducational schools, large institutions (enrollment above 5,000), and public institutions had fewer women deans. By contrast, at least half of all deans were women in two-thirds of the women's colleges.

In 1978, the only administrative positions with more than 50% women in white co-educational institutions were those of dean of nursing, dean of home economics, director of affirmative action, and (in private institutions only) director of student health services (Frances & Mensel, 1981). Furthermore, half of all women administrators in white co-educational institutions were concentrated in ten positions: nursing dean, library director, bookstore manager, registrar, health service director, financial aid director, affirmative action director, student counseling director, information office director, and chief public relations officer. As Gappa and Uehling (1979) have noted, these positions are primarily in the area of student services rather than academic administration, in line with stereotypes of feminine interest in the helping role.

Salary

Sex differences in administrators' salaries parallel the pattern found for faculty salaries. In 1978, women typically earned less than white men in practically all administrative positions and at all types of institutions (Frances & Mensel, 1981). In white co-educational institutions, women were paid between 68% and 80% of the salary earned by white men holding the same job. Women were paid somewhat more at private women's colleges, but still earned only 78% to 83% of what white men were paid. This picture essentially had not changed since 1975 (Van Alstyne & Withers, 1977). In 1978, approximately 11% of white women were in the top salary quartile as compared to 19% of white men, whereas 40% of white women but only 31% of white men were in the lowest salary quartile (Frances & Mensel, 1981). These figures were a slight improvement over 1975 (Van Alstyne & Withers, 1977). Salary differentials between women and men were not related to number of years on the job.

Summary and Conclusion

The status of women faculty and administrators in higher education has improved somewhat during the last decade, but much remains to be accomplished.

While the proportion of women faculty has increased, women still are concentrated in a small number of fields, in the lower ranks, and at less prestigious institutions. They are paid less than male faculty and are less likely to be tenured. Moreover, sex differentials with regard to salary, rank, and tenure have changed little over the last decade.

A similar situation prevails with respect to women administrators. Women are underrepresented in high-level administrative positions, especially at public co-educational institutions. Furthermore, women administrators earn less than men in virtually all positions. Again, these sex

While the proportion of women faculty has increased, women still are concentrated in a small number of fields, in the lower ranks, and at less prestigious institutions. They are paid less than male faculty and are less likely to be tenured. Moreover, sex differentials with regard to salary, rank, and tenure have changed little over the last decade.

differences both in distribution throughout the administrative hierarchy and in salary have remained fairly constant over the last ten years.

Recommendations for further improving the status of women in higher education abound (e.g., Gappa & Uehling, 1979; Howard, 1978; Moore, 1983; Spencer & Bradford, 1982). While discussion of these recommendations is beyond the scope of the present paper, it can only be hoped that the various strategies recommended for achieving sex equity in higher education will be instrumental in bringing about changes in the decade ahead which are more substantial than those which have occurred in the past ten years.

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Career Patterns of High-Level Women School Administrators

Jean Stockard

This paper examines the career paths of a national sample of women holding line administrative posts in public schools. The women appear to have career moves similar to those documented for men in other studies. Superintendents, assistant superintendents, and principals generally follow different career paths, but variations in career paths by the time period in which they entered the labor force, their attitudes toward career mobility, and the relative status of their jobs are not large. The importance of the counselor's position as a stepping stone to administration is noted.

Several authors have noted women's underrepresentation in school administration (e.g., Fishel & Pottker, 1974; Jones & Montenegro, 1982; Schmuck, 1980). Less than one-fourth of all school administrators are women, and most of these are in lower-level posts. Fewer than 2% of all superintendents; 9% of all deputy, assistant, or associate superintendents; 10% of all secondary school principals are women (Jones & Montenegro, 1982).

This paper describes the experiences of this unique group of women educators: those who have attained what are generally considered the top-line administrative posts of superintendent, assistant superintendent, and high school principal. Data from a national sample are used to examine the career paths these women took to attain their current positions, with specific attention given to how the type of position the respondents hold, the time period in which they entered the labor force, their attitudes toward career mobility, and the relative status of their jobs affect these paths.

Previous Research

Most studies of career paths or career mobility take an organizational perspective, building on Weber's analysis of bureaucracies (Gerth & Mills, 1946) and the notion that career patterns develop in ways that coincide with the structure of bureaucratic organizations (e.g., Levenson, 1961). Studies of career patterns in education in recent years have generally focused on one position within a large organizational setting (e.g., March & March, 1977; Carlson, 1972) or on a number of positions within a specific geographical area (Carlson, 1979; Gaertner, 1981; Ortiz, 1982), and generally include mainly men in their sample. The studies suggest that while most administrators remain in their current positions in any one year, those who attain the top-line positions in education usually move through a fairly regularized series of jobs in doing so. The most common route to the superintendency appears to be from an assistant superintendent's post, with movement from the secondary principal's position the next most common path. The most common way to move into an assistant superintendent's slot is probably from a central office staff position (Gaertner, 1981), while the vice principal position commonly provides a route to a principalship (Gaertner, 1981; Ortiz, 1982).

Studies of the career patterns of women administrators are rare, undoubtedly because women's typical educational ca-

reer path is so short, usually from teaching to an elementary principalship or a central office staff position. Available studies tend to focus on only the superintendency (e.g., Coatney, 1982; Costa, 1981; Frasher, Frasher, & Hardwick, 1982; McDade & Drake, 1982). None of these studies provides detailed information on women superintendents' career moves, although they suggest that the vast majority began their careers as teachers and may have obtained their current post either through a direct path from teaching or counseling to line positions of principal, assistant superintendent and then superintendent, or through more specialized jobs such as those in special education, media, research, or federal programs. Some clues to the experiences of women in all three line administrative positions come from Paddock's (1977, 1981) study, which suggests that the career paths of these women are relatively short, not unlike those of comparable men. Unfortunately, none of these studies gives details on the career paths of women administrators in all three line positions, nor do they examine variations in career patterns among women in different types of administrative positions or with different attitudes toward their careers.

The present research examines variations in career patterns of superintendents, assistant and associate superintendents, and high school principals separately for those who entered the labor force before and after 1950. This year may be especially crucial because it marks a time when education expanded greatly, men entered the field in much greater numbers, and the representation of women in administration declined (Schmuck, 1980). In addition, students of organizational career patterns have noted the distinction between cosmopolitans and locals (Gouldner, 1957) or between those with a career orientation and a place orientation (Carlson, 1962). Thus, this study asks if women with different orientations toward occupational mobility tend to have different career patterns. It could be hypothesized that those with a career orientation might be more likely than those with a place orientation to move through a number of different jobs, thus having a more complex career pattern. Finally, many women line administrators are in positions that appear to hold relatively little status (in terms of size of the district, number of people supervised, or salary). Others appear to have somewhat more rewards, although usually not at the level received by men. Are career patterns more complex for those in higher status posts, perhaps because they move through a greater variety of positions?

Studies of the career patterns of women administrators are rare, undoubtedly because women's typical educational career path is so short, usually from teaching to an elementary principalship or a central office staff position.

Methodology

To answer these questions data were used from a questionnaire developed by Susan Paddock (1977, 1981) that was mailed to all women in the United States identified through state school directories or lists from state departments of education as holding a position of school superintendent, assistant or associate superintendent, or secondary school principal. A return rate of 56% was obtained, with no apparent biases apart from a tendency for superintendents and principals to return their schedules less often than assistant superintendents.[1] Comparisons of the demographic characteristics of the respondents in these groups with those obtained in other studies of the same population (e.g., Barron, 1977; Coatney, 1982; Costa, 1981; Frasher, Frasher, & Hardwick, 1982; Fansher & Buxton, 1984; McDade & Drake, 1982) indicate few differences; thus the returns probably provide a good representation of the population of women line administrators in the United States.[2]

Measures

To measure the career moves of the respondents, their occupation for each academic year since entering the labor force was coded. The codes included six types of administrative positions: superintendent; assistant superintendent; principal; assistant principal; staff administrative positions including the job titles of director, coordinator, and consultant; and other more marginal administrative posts including head teacher. The codes also included two categories of school building level, nonadministrative positions: specialized positions such as counselor or librarian, and classroom teacher. There were separate codes for three categories of extra-educational employment: paid employment outside education, attending graduate school during an entire academic year, and not working in the paid labor force.

The measure of the respondents' career orientation came from two questions in which the respondents were asked to choose either an alternative indicating a desire to pursue further career opportunities, or one indicating satisfaction with current position and no desire to pursue further career advances. Responses to these two items were combined to form a three-category measure with the first category including those who gave a place-oriented response to both questions (34% of the sample); the second, those who gave a career-oriented response to one question and place oriented to the other (45%); and the third, those who gave a career-oriented response to both questions (21%). As a validity check, responses on this measure were compared to other indicators of career orientation. The respondents differed significantly in the expected direction on a scale of 8 items regarding career orientation and in their future plans, with the career-oriented respondents most willing to move to another state to take a job.

The measure of the status of the respondents' current occupation was based on a multivariate analysis of three separate indices: the number of people they supervised, the size of the district in which they worked, and their annual salary (see Stockard, 1984 for details). Four status groups were distinguished: a small, high-status group (n=13) having much higher average salaries than the other women and supervising many more people; a second group (n=55) with the lowest salaries, in the smallest districts, and supervising the fewest people; and two mid-ranked groups (n=79 and 27) with scores on the defining variables which were midway between those in the other groups.[3]

Analysis

To examine the respondents' career transitions, the data were arranged in a matrix which shows the probability of moving from one job classification to another in any given year. Log-linear analysis, a multivariate statistical procedure used with categorical data, was used to determine whether career patterns varied among those with different job titles, years of entry, status, or career orientation more than would be expected by chance. Possible differences in entry positions or in positions held outside of education were analyzed separately using a chi-square test. Details on these statistical results are available from the author and only summaries of the results are given here. The results were compared to those reported by Gaertner (1981), Carlson (1979), and Ortiz (1982).[4]

Results

Table 1 gives the transition probabilities for all of the respondents for whom data were available (45 superintendents, 106 assistant superintendents, and 112 principals). The entry probabilities show that 71% of the respondents entered the labor force as teachers. One-fourth first entered positions outside of education, usually in business or government. Most of these women then became teachers, but a few moved directly from their work outside of education to an administrative post. The marginal proportions show that over the years the most common job held by the respondents was teaching. Second most common were positions out of education, most often in some type of business or as a housewife. Slightly less than half of the job-years involved nonteaching positions in education.

Table 1
Transition Probabilities For the Entire Sample

Position held in year j	Position in Year j + 1									% of Total	N
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
Superintendent	.98	.01							.01	.03	204
Assistant superintendent	.02	.97	.01							.07	453
Principal	.01	.03	.92		.02			.01	.01	.14	950
Assistant principal			.18	.78	.03	.01				.06	386
Staff administrator	.01	.07	.04	.02	.82	.01		.01	.02	.11	777
Other administrator	.01	.07	.05	.05	.05	.73		.02	.02	.02	168
Counselor/ librarian			.02	.08	.04	.02	.82	.02		.03	191
Teacher			.03	.02	.03	.01	.01	.87	.03	.36	2,514
Working out of education		.01	.01		.02			.09	.87	.18	1,212
											6,855
Entry	.005	.000	.000	.000	.020	.010	.005	.710	.250		263

j = 1929,.....,1975

Note. Probabilities less than .005 but greater than .001 are rounded to zero and are not included on the table

Diagonal values indicate the tendency to stay in a position. The only categories with diagonal values greater than .90 are the three final line positions used as the basis of the sample, perhaps indicating that once the respondents attained these positions they were unlikely to leave them. This was especially true for the superintendency, but least true for the principalship, which may be seen as a preliminary step to the superintendent's post. The positions in which respondents were least likely to stay were those of other administrative posts (p =.73) and assistant principal (p=.78). Both of these positions might best be characterized as stopping points on the way to other jobs.

Most of the other probabilities in the matrix fall below the diagonal. If we assume that the categories have a rough order, this would indicate that most moves for this sample involved attaining greater prestige and/or responsibilities. Virtually all the respondents went through teaching to reach their current position. From teaching they went in a variety of directions. Superintendents most often came from assistant superintendencies (p =.02). Assistant superintendents appeared to come from staff or other administrative jobs (p =.07) or from principalships (p =.03). Principals often held assistant principalships (p =.18) or, less often, staff (p =.04) and other administrative jobs (p =.05). The most common way the respondents attained assistant principalships was through the counselor or librarian role (p =.08) and other administrative jobs (p =.05). They attained staff administrative positions in a variety of ways: from other administrative jobs (p =.05), counselor or librarian jobs (p =.04), the assistant principal role (p =.03), or directly from a teaching position (p =.03).

Career Transitions by Title

When the career patterns of respondents in the three different job categories (superintendent, assistant superintendent, and principal) were examined, there were no significant differences in the type of positions they held when beginning their work careers. However, the multivariate analysis indicated that the three groups of administrators followed different career paths in attaining line positions. The superintendents tended to move directly from teaching to a line position more often than assistant superintendents or principals, but less often from a position out of education to teaching. Additional analyses indicated that superintendents more often held business positions outside of education and were most likely to have experienced movement among the three line positions. Assistant superintendents were more likely to have held staff administrative positions and to have used these as a stepping stone to a line position, to have attended graduate school for an entire academic year, and to have been a housewife. Principals were more likely than the others to have been an assistant principal, counselor, or librarian, and to have spent slightly more time as a teacher. They also were more likely to have moved to a line position from an assistant principal slot and to have spent time as a housewife.

Career Transitions by Year Entered

Those who entered the labor market before 1950 (as early as 1929) and in 1950 or later (as late as 1975) tended to have different entry positions. The younger respondents more often began their careers in teaching positions or other jobs within education, while the older respondents more often first held jobs outside of education. While the multivariate analysis indicated that the career transitions differed for the older and younger groups, examination of the data indicated that this resulted from the tendency for the older group to stay in posts outside of education much longer than the younger respondents. Perhaps this difference indicates that experience outside of education was valued for older women administrators while younger women administrators were more often expected to have worked primarily in education. However, the difference could very well reflect the nature of the sample. Women who entered the labor force after 1950 but who detoured into fields other than education may simply need more time to gain the line administrative positions comparable older women have already attained. If this were the case, it would be

expected that in ten to fifteen years, women line administrators who entered the labor force between 1950 and 1975 would be just as likely as those who entered before 1950 to have work experience outside of education.

Career Orientations

Respondents with different career orientations had very similar career patterns with no significant differences in the positions in which they entered the labor force, the type of positions they held outside of education, or the moves made from one position to another. Those with different orientations did, however, hold different types of jobs during their careers. Those with a place orientation held teaching positions for fewer years. Those with a mixed orientation spent more years as a teacher, out of education, and in staff administrative positions. Those with a career orientation spent fewer years as staff administrators or out of education, more often served as counselors or librarians, and had attained the highest levels of education. Principals were overrepresented among those with a place orientation, assistant superintendents among those with a mixed orientation, and superintendents among those with a career orientation.

Career Moves by Status

Members of the four status groups also had similar career moves, but differed in the types of positions they held during their careers. Those in the highest status group spent proportionately more years in principal posts, but fewer as a teacher or outside of education. Those in the lowest status group had more years in the three line administrative posts and in jobs out of education, but fewer years as an assistant principal, in other staff administrative posts, or as a counselor or librarian. Those in the two middle ranking groups had proportionately more years in various lower level staff and administrative jobs, but fewer years in the superintendent and principal categories. In addition, there was a tendency for members of the four status groups to differ somewhat in the type of positions they held outside of education, the most striking being a tendency for those in the highest status cluster to be most likely to have taken a year or more out for graduate school.

Discussion and Summary

The results of this study tend to support those using samples composed primarily of men (Carlson, 1979; Gaertner, 1981; Ortiz, 1982). These women administrators appear to have moved through relatively regular career paths: from staff jobs to the principal or assistant superintendent post, from the vice principal position to the principalship, and from the principalship or assistant superintendent's job to the role of superintendent. Differences in the career patterns of superintendents, assistant superintendents, and principals correspond to those suggested by the literature, with superintendents most likely to have experience in other line administrative posts, assistant superintendents in staff administrative positions, and principals in building jobs. Such transitions appear logical given the functions performed by people in each of these posts.

In contrast to the stated expectations, there were few differences in the career paths of older and younger administrators. Some differences appeared in the analyses of those in different status groupings and with different career orientations. As expected, those in the highest status cluster appeared to have somewhat more complex career paths, most often taking out a year to attend graduate school and spending time as a principal before becoming a superintendent. Those with the lowest salaries and smallest staffs, and working in the smallest districts were most likely to have spent years outside of education and to have moved directly to a line position from teaching with little experience in other administrative positions. This might be expected when the administrative positions are of such low status that they would require relatively little prior administrative experience.

The expected differences were not so apparent in the analysis of those with different orientations toward their careers. Instead, the respondents' current positions appeared to be a more important correlate:

superintendents were most often career oriented, assistant superintendents had a mixed orientation, and principals most often were place oriented. This might simply reflect the special nature of the superintendent's career, which usually does not include tenure and typically involves movement among districts (see Carlson, 1972). An important question for future research might involve the causal connections between career patterns and career orientations: To what extent does an administrator's career orientation influence his or her career paths and choices; or, conversely, to what extent is attitude toward one's career influenced by career experiences?

One noteworthy finding, not totally anticipated by the earlier literature, was the role of the counselor's job as a common transition between teaching and staff administrative posts or the vice principal position. (Only four of the 35 job years in the counselor-librarian category involved the librarian's position.) In their study of influences on the probability of moving from teaching to administration, Eberts and Stone (1982) noted that working outside of the classroom (e.g., as a librarian, counselor, speech therapist) actually reduced the chances of either a man or a woman becoming an administrator. Unfortunately, their analysis did not show the independent influence of being a counselor on the chances of gaining an administrative position and did not differentiate the types of administrative jobs which the subjects attained. In contrast, Gallant (1980), in a study of women holding vice principal positions in secondary schools, noted that a substantial number of these women had once held positions as guidance counselors.

Based on the current results, one could speculate that because it often involves semi-administrative tasks such as scheduling of students, the counselor's post might provide special experiences and visibility that could lead one to administrative jobs, especially those within schools, such as the vice principal or principal position. Counselors may be more likely than other nonteaching personnel to develop personal contacts with administrators who can aid their advancement. Because women and men are about equally likely to become counselors (Schmuck, 1980, citing NEA, 1973), administrative advancement through the counselor position might also be particularly open to women. Each of these questions is worthy of further investigation.

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Footnotes

1. The 56% figure assumes that every person who did not return a questionnaire was a woman in one of the identified occupations. If not, Paddock notes that the sample may actually represent a larger percentage of women administrators. The sample used here is slightly larger than Paddock's because it includes respondents who returned schedules after her cut-off date for analysis. This does not appear to bias the sample in any way, except to include a slightly higher proportion of principals than does her analysis.

2. Because of missing data, it was impossible to reconstruct the entire job history for some of the respondents (6% of all the years coded). These intervening years were included in a residual code which was collapsed with the years out of education in most of the analyses.

3. Although information on these measures was not available for all respondents, this appears to have had only minimal effect on the analysis. Sufficient data on career patterns were available for 92% of the sample. A comparison of characteristics of those with career data and those lacking this information indicated only slightly more differences than would be expected by chance, the most noticeable of which was a tendency for those without data to be employed by county and statewide districts more often, and to see their future career moves as involving a return to teaching or some other downwardly mobile step. Complete information on the status variables was available for only

60% of the subjects, but the group with data again differed only slightly. Those without data on the measures tended to be older than the other respondents, to more often have only a bachelor's degree, to work in state departments, and to be employed as superintendents or assistant superintendents.

4. The earlier works involved samples of all administrators (and thus mainly men) within a relatively limited and specified organizational group—either a state or a set of districts within a state. The present sample involved the entire country and included not all administrators, but only those few women who have attained line positions. While the earlier studies involved a cross-sectional view of transitions within a given time period, the present study involved a retrospective view of how a group of women of varying ages attained their present posts. This method was necessary if we were to learn about their career patterns, for given the small proportion of all administrators, and especially those in line positions, who are women, it would be virtually impossible to conduct such a study in a cross-sectional manner within the limits of a smaller geographical area. Nevertheless, caution should be exercised in comparing the present results to earlier ones.

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Being Out on the Inside in Higher Education Administration: Women's Responses to Role and Status Incongruity

Edward Lafontaine and Bonnie Jean McKenzie

Women are often denied access to formal authority in higher education administration. After locating the source of this problem in the fundamental incongruity between women's sex role and status on the one hand and their occupational role and status on the other, this paper outlines a typology of responses typically exhibited by women. While certain strategies are deemed more helpful than others in minimizing failure, none guarantees success. It is concluded that viable responses must be framed and executed within the context of the larger sociocultural milieu of the sexual division of labor.

Despite efforts to assure women equal access to administrative positions, they are still "an anomaly within male-defined paradigms of knowledge and power" (Swoboda & Vanderbosch, 1983). Equally important, the "fitness of those few who have managed to transcend the barriers to access is continuously challenged. It is imperative, then, that strategies be identified that will both increase the number of women in administration and establish their "legitimacy" to hold these positions. This article briefly outlines a theoretical framework which explains one source of the differential and inequitable treatment experienced by women in higher education administration, identifies a typology of responses commonly exhibited by women, and evaluates the effectiveness of each.

The Basis of Role and Status Incongruity in Formal Organizations

The fundamental basis for authority in formal organizations and "frequently the most important determinant of governance," is formal authority (Pfeffer, 1981). Individuals have formal authority because they hold within organizational hierarchies positions other members acknowledge as legitimate sources of specific communications. Communications are accepted as legitimate then, because the individuals initiating them are seen as "duly constituted" sources of influence (Haas & Drabeck, 1973).

Since formal authority is vested in organizational positions, it should be available to all occupants of such positions. In some circumstances, however, extraneous factors may undermine formal authority. For example, the treatment of personal attributes as requisite occupational characteristics can negate the essentially automatic imputing of formal authority (Haas & Drabeck, 1973). More explicitly, the lack, in a particular person, of an "appropriate" personal characteristic can undermine the legitimacy inherently attached to an organizational position.

The treatment of sex as an occupational trait (Epstein, 1970) manifests itself in,

among other things, occupational sex-typing. Occupational sex-typing exists "when a very large majority of those in an occupation are of one sex and when there is an associated normative expectation that this is as it should be" (Merton cited in Brown, 1979, p. 274). In the process of becoming sex-typed, a "sex-linked ethos" comes to be identified with these occupations. That is, "ideologies surrounding the pursuit of these occupations and justifying their position in the organization . . . define both the labor pool from which these occupations" draw and the "ideal images of the attributes of the people in the pool" (Kanter, 1977, p. 8). Stated otherwise, occupations come to be socially and organizationally defined in terms of both the role and the status of the sex to which they are linked.[1]

Occupational sex-typing has two major practical implications for the "other" sex. First, it de facto discourages them from seeking or being sought for "nonappropriate" occupations. Second, and of more immediate relevance to this discussion, it invariably "qualifies" others' acceptance of their communications as legitimate (i.e., it undermines their formal authority) should they achieve such a position. In other words, if there is a fundamental incongruity between sex roles and/or status on the one hand and occupation roles and/or status on the other, sex and not occupation is dominant or salient (Epstein, 1970; Colwill, 1982). As will be demonstrated below, this often results in differential and unequal treatment for the misplaced sex.[2]

The Case of Women in Higher Education Administration

That administrative occupations in higher education are sex-typed is apparent in both women's lack of representation in institutional hierarchies and the negative sentiment (and treatment) they are accorded when they secure such positions. (Colwill,1982). First the very large majority (80%) of these administrators are male (Pennsylvania State University, 1982). Furthermore, consistent with the regressive pattern associated with sex-typed occupations, while women constitute 20 percent of all academic administrators, they accouint for less than 7 percent of college presidents (Astin, 1980). Second, there is within the academic world, a normative expectation that this is as it should be (Schetlin, 1975; Swoboda and Vanderbosch, 1983). Women's sex role and status are by definition incongruent with those attributes commonly associated with this occupation. They simply are not seen to "fit the leadership image as it is presently drawn (Nieboer, 1975, p. 100).

That administrative occupations in higher education are sex-typed is apparent in both women's lack of representation in institutional hierarchies and the negative sentiment (and treatment) they are accorded when they secure such positions.

The consequences of sex-typing pervade women's occupational experiences. For example, because social norms designate administrative positions in higher education as male, women occupants are always seen as *women* occupants, never just occupants (Kanter, 1980). "Myths surrounding gender soon become countervailing forces against the fact of position. A woman president, dean, or chancellor is seen first as a woman, and belatedly as an administrator" (Swoboda and Vanderbosch, 1983, p. 3). In fact, with regard to both their role and their status in higher education, women invariably are viewed, and exist, as "outsiders."

The saliency of their ascribed versus

their achieved role and status means that women in these positions experience "role entrapment" and "status leveling" (Kanter, 1980). As a result of the former, "the range of behaviors available to the woman administrator is often as circumscribed as that available to her secretarial foremothers" (Swoboda and Vanderbosch, 1983, p. 4). In the latter case, she is often thought of "not as a colleague, but as an accessory similar to . . . one's wife" (Garson, 1975, p. 170). Consequently, women must continuously define, emphasize, exert, and defend their formal authority in interactions and situations where for men, it would be accepted. (Kanter, 1980).[3]

This dual role and status also means that women are evaluated on the basis of how well they, as administrators, live up to the sex-role expectations of being feminine as well as how well they, as women, live up to the occupational expectations of being managerial (i.e., masculine) (Kanter, 1977). However, due to the polarization between femininity and masculinity, living up to one set of norms and expectations inherently negates the possibility of satisfying the requisite conditions of the second (Nieva & Gutek, 1982). For example, should a woman choose to emphasize the feminine, she risks additional losses in her already undermined formal authority. Likewise, should she emphasize the managerial, she can expect social sanctions from both men and women in the organization (Fenn, 1978). More concretely, this managerial behavior may elicit confusion, discomfort, resentment, and rejection on the part of those with whom she interacts (Nieva & Gutek, 1982; Garson, 1975).

Since the status ascribed to administrative positions is relatively high, and since the status ascribed to women is generally low (Lips, 1981), women administrators in higher education are likely to be treated inequitably as well. In fact, administration has been identified as the "hard core of sexism in academe" (Astin, 1980). Differential placement within the organization (Astin, 1980; Mattfeld, 1975; Oltman, 1977), unequal access to rewards (Scott, 1978), and lack of recognition for contributions (Schetlin, 1975) are typical in this regard.

Toward a Typology of Individual Responses

Because governance in formal organizations is by definition a social or reciprocating process, women's actions in administrative positions constitute, either by default or design, a response to their lack of formal authority.[4] For those individuals who do not identify their treatment as problematic, two types of responses are evident.

Implicit Acceptance

The first type, characteristic of women who accept the traditional female role and status, is an implicit acceptance of the practice of treating sex as salient. Because they are inclined to value their sex role and status, these individuals actively encourage and perform it in their interactions with others. In return, they are treated even more stereotypically as, for example, tends to be the case of women who have been variously characterized as organizational mother, seductress, pet, or iron maiden (Kanter, 1977).

While defining such treatment as normal and desirable does, in a fashion, negate the problem for these individuals, in a real sense, the problem still exists. This is evident in a variety of ways. First, these women still suffer the tangible consequences of debilitating traditional perceptions of their role and status. Second, they face an additional disadvantage because of the often inappropriate and nonproductive character of their stereotypic behavior. Third, such traditional behavior fosters a further erosion of their already shallow basis of influence. Finally, at the social level, their actions contribute to the burden of other women administrators who, by association, will have to contend with the resultant exaggeration and reification of traditional stereotypes.

Lack of Feminist Consciousness

The second type of response encompasses those women who are simply unaware of the incongruities that exist between sex and occupation, or of the

restrictions which the resultant treatment places on their ability to actualize formal authority. Ideationally, these individuals can be characterized as lacking one or both of two fundamental components of feminist consciousness.[5] First, their naiveté is an indication that they do not recognize that women constitute a minority group. Second, it indicates their ignorance of the fact that, as a member of this group, their sex will be salient in *their* treatment on the job, independent of ability or proclivity. In practice, the passive or nonactive reaction that emerges from this lack of awareness leaves such women very vulnerable. Because they assume that they have formal authority, they issue communications expecting them to be acknowledged as legitimate. When they are not and these women are unaware of this fact, they are rendered ineffective. Should they become aware of their ineffectiveness, they may have neither the opportunity nor the savvy to contend with it.[6]

Status Viewed as Problematic

For those individuals who do view this treatment as problematic, four responses can be identified.

Withdrawal. First, faced with daily questioning of their status and continual challenges to their role, some women withdraw from the precipitating position. This response does in fact work, at least in immediate terms—it does serve to eliminate the source of the incongruity. However, there are problems with this solution. For example, since most allied occupations are also sex-typed, changing jobs will most likely bring only transitory relief. In addition, this option is not always viable. To leave, women must have sufficient resources to meet their needs. Given the depressed character of both women's economic prospects and the overall employment picture, this can hardly be assured.

There are also professional and personal "costs" to flight, especially repeated flight. For example, a history of such moves may be interpreted as an indication of instability or performance failure. When these perceptions are held by others, they can damage a woman's career, as well as the careers of other women, when the actions of one are interpreted as additional proof of the unsuitability of all women for administrative positions. When they are held by the woman herself, they can undermine her self-confidence and subsequently her performance.

Benign resignation. A second response is benign resignation. The problem here is that, whether derived from acquiescence or based on a belief that they possess some individually-based albeit sex stereotypic deficiency that is deserving of differential treatment, this response constitutes a tacit acknowledgement that they are *women* administrators and hence not legitimate sources of influence. Practically speaking, this makes them very vulnerable to manipulation, and it may incline them to avoid risks. In the first case, the nature and quality of their performance becomes, in effect, contingent on the goodwill of others. As a result, such women have neither guarantee nor basis for insuring that their communications will be followed in the manner and toward the end for which they were issued. In the second case, to insure that their orders will be followed, they may be reduced to issuing communications which are in keeping with the desires of those with whom they are interacting. In this way, they can be fairly certain that the persons in question will concur with their communications, and that they will give these directives the legitimacy they need to be executed. In general, however, such a solution will undermine their effectiveness. For example, such women will never be able to issue the often required "unpopular edict." Likewise, such a response demonstrates a lack of those leadership skills often deemed essential to organizational success.

Substitute authority. A third response is the attempt to substitute other types of authority for what is lacking at the formal level. For example, some women may seek a mentor who, because of the strength of his or her position, can *authorize* her to issue communications, that is, to be a duly-constituted source of influence. Others,

through the demonstration of "expertise," may seek to establish a basis for *endorsed* authority. In this case, women seek appropriate members of the organization who, because of their respect for her knowledge, indirectly establish her legitimate right to influence others. Finally, some women utilize their personal repertoire (i.e., charm, likability, feminine wiles) or their control over the resources attached to their position to establish *informal* authority (Johnson, 1976; Colwill, 1982). That is, the admiration, respect, emotional attachment, or in the case of control over resources, the personal gain that derives from these essentially a-organizational interactions, can be utilized in lieu of formal authority to achieve desired goals.

While authorized, endorsed, and informal authority are normal parts of institutional life, and while acquisition of these resources is generally viewed positively, their use as substitutes for formal authority is precarious at best.

While authorized, endorsed, and informal authority are normal parts of institutional life, and while acquisition of these resources is generally viewed positively, their use as substitutes for formal authority is precarious at best. Specifically, a reliance on these forms of authority, either individually or collectively, is generally not sufficient to insure the fulfillment of institutional responsibilities. For example, administrators invariably must issue communications of all kinds to all kinds of people. There is no assurance that an alternative basis for establishing legitimacy will be readily available, or, for that matter, will exist at all. Likewise, use of these resources as substitutes for formal authority means that performance essentially becomes dependent upon an individual's "popularity." As is true for those who accept their lack of formal authority, this means that the occupant's organizational actions always will be circumscribed.

Struggle for formal authority. Finally, some women respond to this problem by fighting for formal authority. Their intent is to wrest from others an acknowledgement that they have a legitimate right to hold these positions, hence to issue all relevant communications. At a micro level, this response might take the form of interpersonal confrontations with individuals who refuse to accept women administrators as duly constituted sources of influence. At the macro level, it may take the form of collective, organized programs to establish institutional legitimacy. These latter efforts can range in blatancy and severity from general consciousness raising on the one hand to formal sociopolitical and legal actions on the other.

The risks associated with these confrontive strategies are great. At the personal level, the time and energy required to challenge this problem is in direct competition with that which is needed to fulfill concrete organizational responsibilities. At the extra-individual level, other organizational members may interpret overt action as a direct challenge to their personal integrity, or as a challenge to the integrity of the organization itself. In conjunction with preexisting apprehension concerning women as administrators, such activities make it easy for activists to be rendered ineffective. Labeled as intolerant, demanding, over-aggressive, domineering, or difficult because of their unwillingness to separate their politics from their profession, these women may find themselves becoming isolated, thereby further undermining their effectiveness as administrators. In extreme situations, they may face the possibility of demotion or dismissal.

Implications

As is evident from the previous discussion, women administrators in higher education are inherently forced to contend with the consequences of functioning

within formal organizations while existing outside their formal authority structure. Yet, typical responses to the problems posed by the disparity between position and authority were shown to be ineffective. While some appear to be more helpful than others in minimizing failure, none assures success. Equally important, others may be counterproductive.

Within the context of the general theory of the sexual division of labor (and by implication, the theory of occupational sex-typing), this comes as no great surprise. That is, since the problem is inherent in the ideational and institutional milieu of the larger society, success in this regard is, in fact, ultimately contingent on addressing it at that level. Stated otherwise, to insure the acceptance of women administrators as "duly constituted" sources of influence, the source of the basis of the incongruity that exists between the role and status attributed to sex on the one hand and that associated with occupations on the other, must be transcended. This, of course, entails a reconstitution of not just specific organizations, or even specific types of organizations, but of the entire sociocultural structure in which they are grounded. While this is not meant to suggest that women should passively tolerate differential and unequal treatment, it is nonetheless essential that they frame and execute their responses within this larger context.

Footnotes

[1]Role designates "the set of behaviors or functions appropriate for a person who holds a particular position within a social context" (Wrightsman in Colwill, 1982, pp. 36-37), while status refers to "an individual's position in a hierarchy of power relations within a social group" (Lips, 1981, p. 8).

[2]This is particularly true for women in "male" occupations. As Epstein notes, "the consequences of sex typing in making sex status salient are magnified for women, and have generally inhibited their occupational success" while men in "female" occupations "seem to have a better chance to do well and be upwardly mobile" (1970, p. 152).

[3]This is not to imply that the incongruity between occupational and sex role/status affects only formal authority. To the contrary, studies have shown that it also limits, in particular, their informal, endorsed, and authorized authority (Kanter, 1977, 1980; Colwill, 1982; Nieva & Gutek, 1982).

[4]Since both the character of and the significance attached to such treatment will change over time, women will exhibit more than one response at any given time over the long run.

[5]In addition to the two components examined in the following discussion, the existence of feminist consciousness presumes both the existence of the objective conditions of discrimination based on sex and an understanding of the existent ideological and institutional circumstances of women's alienation, and of the type of action that will assure the achievement of equality (Lafontaine, 1983).

[6]Individuals in this category may non-consciously use some of the strategies outlined in the following section. However, because they are unaware of them, they are likely to be less effective.

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Women in Community College Administration: A Progress Report

Ruth M. Hemming

Substantial progress has been made for women in high administrative positions in California's 106 community colleges during the last decade. This new study compares current top women administrators' personal and professional backgrounds and attitudes with those of their counterparts surveyed in a 1972 study. It also reflects on the role of affirmative action and briefly examines prospects for the 1980s.

Over the last ten years—the decade of affirmative action and the latter half of the current women's movement—there have been substantial increases realized in the numbers and percentages of women both entering and attaining high-level positions in school management. An American Council on Education study released in 1980, in fact, showed an increase of 38% in women serving as Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) in American colleges and universities during the preceding five years. Greatest growth areas were in four-year public colleges, where the number rose 180%, and in two-year public colleges, which actually tripled the number of women CEOs.

Results of a recent study of women in the top three levels of management in California's 106 community colleges demonstrate rather dramatically the substantial increases made by women in the past ten years. The study partially replicated one done by Pfiffner in 1972, some results of which appeared in *Women in Educational Administration* (1979). The number of women who fell into the defined categories–the top three levels of administration (president, full dean, and associate or assistant dean)—increased from 26, or 4%, to 97, or 13%. Five women (5%) were serving as president of a college; thirty women (11%) were full deans; and sixty-one women (17%) held associate dean positions. Pfiffner reported two (2%) women presidents, eight (3%) full deans, and sixteen (5%) associate deans.

These figures are even more meaningful when compared with the increase in the total number of top-level administrators (19%) and in the total number of community colleges (16%). The total number of women in top positions increased 373%. During approximately the same time period, EEOC figures report that all women in management increased from 10.2 to 18.15%—a 77% increase.

Eighty percent of California's current top women administrators responded to this study, a survey instrument which gathered data on their professional experience, attitudes toward administration, perceptions of sex discrimination and affirmative action, educational background, and personal lives. Some of the findings and conclusions are reported below—particularly those which provide comparisons with the earlier study.

Demographic Differences

In addition to her increased presence, the current woman administrator on the

average is younger, has fewer years of administrative experience, is better educated, is less likely to be married or has been married for a shorter period of time, and has fewer children than her 1972 counterpart. She is also twice as likely to believe she has suffered discrimination on the basis of her sex.

The average age of today's top administrator is 47—five years younger than her earlier peer. She has an average of nine years of administrative experience to her credit, as compared with 12 years in the earlier study. She is also opting for an administrative career at an earlier age (nearly 40% reported the decision made before they reached 30, as compared with 9% in Pfiffner's study) and actually entering administration sooner (over 70% had entered administration by the age of 40, as compared with 45% of the earlier group).

Educationally, today's administrator either has the doctoral degree or is actively pursuing it. If all respondents who report working on the doctorate complete it, close to 50% of the current top women administrators will hold the terminal degree, as compared with 23% of Pfiffner's group. This trend is even more pronounced when compared with Walsh's 1975 study of male and female administrators in California colleges and universities; at that time, just 13% of women held the doctorate, compared with 36% of men in comparable positions. Apparently the need to attain the doctorate as a "ticket" to high administrative posts, particularly for women, has become more accepted in the last few years.

Questions related to family status, not surprisingly, reflect the social trends of the last decade. Seventy-five percent of respondents have been married at least once, but just 44% are currently married, 25% are divorced, and 25% have never been married. The most dramatic change, a 500% increase, is in the divorce rate figures: of the 1972 group, only 5% were divorced. Current trends are reflected, too, in the smaller families reported. Only 47% of respondents reported any children, as compared with Pfiffner's 73%, and only fourteen women reported having three or more children; most reported one or no children.

Attitudinal Changes

Attitudinally, study respondents—the top women administrators in California's community colleges—are very well-satisfied with their jobs and with their career choice, and more than two-thirds aspire to higher positions. Eighty percent indicate a high degree of job satisfaction, and identify as chief satisfaction factors working with staff and students, achievement of objectives, authority, autonomy, the value of their work, and the challenges of building and rebuilding. (Factors in dissatisfaction include poor top management—including harassment and negative attitudes of superiors toward women subordinates, boredom, paperwork, internal turmoil, budgetary problems and low support levels, stress, and lack of advancement opportunity.) Nearly 90% indicate they would opt for the same career choice again, and an even greater percentage would again select the community-college level.

Today's top women administrators agree fully with their earlier counterparts regarding the most and least enjoyable aspects of their jobs. Three major areas of enjoyment were identified: working with people, planning and problem-solving, and challenge and creativity. Respondents emphasized the value of "making things work," "being able to make some contribution to the big picture occasionally," "constant growth," "provoking creativity," and "leadership." Least enjoyable aspects of the job were paperwork, personnel conflicts, routine and repetitive tasks, long hours, and meetings—in that order. Pfiffner's administrators also identified working with people as the most enjoyable aspect of their job, and routine paperwork, difficult people, the budget, long meetings, and lack of time as least enjoyable. Some things never change.

Several changes were evident, however, in the responses of today's top administrators to questions about personal characteristics necessary for success. The clear leader when multiple responses were categorized was interpersonal skills—working with people. Others mentioned, in descending order of frequency, were flexibility, organizational ability, self-confidence, fairness and objectivity, a sense

of humor, decision-making skills and intelligence (tied), listening skills, and health—including mental health—and patience (another tie). Interpersonal skills also led the list when Pfiffner asked the same question, but some other priorities appear to have changed in the interim. Flexibility, for instance, moved from sixth place in 1972 to second choice among today's respondents—a sign of the rapidly changing and ambiguous times, perhaps. Organizational ability moved from ninth position to third—possibly signifying an increasing awareness of the need for training and acquisition of managerial skills. Self-confidence and a good self-image did not appear on the earlier list, but ranked fourth in the current study—again perhaps prompted by a higher awareness level on the part of respondents.

Be prepared to stand your ground, anticipate changes, have a sense of humor. Don't be awed by your promotion; you wouldn't be there unless you earned it. Join the management team.

Maintaining a sense of humor was the characteristic fifth most often mentioned in both studies. Listening and decision-making skills were listed in the new but not the earlier study, while health, patience, fairness, intelligence, and objectivity made both lists. Three items appeared on the 1972 list but not among the top ten responses in this study: a strong personal value system, openness, and knowledge of job—not, one hopes, because these qualities are no longer considered important.

Specific advice offered by current top women administrators to other women aspiring to administration is worth noting. Comments centered on working hard, being politically aware and able to play "the game," being well prepared—academically, experientially, and specifically—for issues which arise, setting goals and objectives to work toward, maintaining a sense of humor, and striving to be nonemotional. (One respondent specifically advised, "Never cry.") Most responses tended to focus on more than one idea, as did the following:

> Create opportunities to demonstrate your administrative abilities and make known your interest in administration. Have a good sense of humor, work hard, be yourself, don't expect special handling because you're a woman, use good common sense, and be competent.

> Do not make rash decisions—be able to say what needs to be said in a nice manner. Be fair—use logic—be understanding—be human—know where your resources are.

> Work like hell and be true to yourself; don't play games. Get the doctorate—it does help.

> Be willing to work hard, make sacrifices. Forget about sexism (in the personal sense); if you look for it you'll find it! Approach sexism as an institutional issue, not a personal one. Keep control over personal affairs—don't bring them to work. Get therapy or help from people outside work.

> Start with your own head—the greatest resistance is there. Forget about fairness—most likely you will have to be better than male colleagues to even be considered.

> Be prepared to stand your ground, anticipate changes, have a sense of humor. Don't be awed by your promotion; you wouldn't be there unless you earned it. Join the management team.

> Be prepared to be met with resistance by some male superiors and colleagues, no matter how cooperative and productive and non-aggressive you are. My chancellor once said, "Why don't women like to work for women?" (My secretary and I have been professional and personal friends for 25 years. She is a woman.) My president: "Forgive me for saying it, but I don't think I could ever work for a woman."

> You need ambition. There are easier jobs.

> You must be assertive but not "tough"; warm but not "soft"; and be superorganized to manage a job and a home.

Two somewhat unusual responses which deserve attention are these:

> There are some persons who would be your friend because you are an administrator; there are others who would be your friend in spite of your being an administrator. Learn the difference between the two.

> Being a mother helps—many of your employees are men and as every woman knows all men are really little boys at heart. Success is knowing how to deal with little boys.

When Pfiffner asked the same questions in 1972, her respondents' replies fell into five categories:

> They felt that each woman administrative aspirant should know herself and be herself, should gain a broad educational background with as many types of experience as possible, should be patient and gentle, should maintain objectivity, and should realize that top-level administrative work is very stimulating, creative, and rewarding.

There appear to be some qualitative differences between those response categories and the current study; today's respondents seem to be more realistic and less idealistic about both the pluses and the minuses of administrative careers. They give more emphasis to the practicalities of both preparing for and functioning in administration, and pay less attention to patience and gentleness and more to assertiveness and competency. Finally, very few of the current respondents commented on the "stimulating, creative, and rewarding" aspects of administrative careers; one can only speculate about the reasons for that shift in emphasis.

Perceptions of Sex Discrimination

A dramatic contrast with 1972 study data emerged on the issue of sex discrimination. Seventy-one percent of current respondents indicated that they had experienced discrimination based on sex, while 68% of Pfiffner's respondents indicated that they had *not* experienced "any adverse reaction because of being a woman in an administrative position." It is certainly possible—nay, probable—that the emphasis and publicity surrounding affirmative action and the women's movement during the last ten years has contributed to raising the awareness levels of women in management positions.

The kinds of discriminatory practices experienced included failure to share information, differential job titles, not being consulted or included, stereotyping, "informal 'old boys' meetings when decisions are made without women present," negative reactions to women working for doctoral degrees, "the notion that women don't/can't know voc. ed.," and the idea that men ("other men, of course") don't like women bosses.

Respondents reported dealing with sex discrimination in a variety of ways ranging from ignoring it to bringing legal suit. Points of view split between not acknowledging it and demonstrating professional competency on the one hand, and behaving assertively, "confronting irrationality whenever and wherever it exists," and persisting no matter what, on the other. The following comments, made in response to a query about how discrimination was dealt with, are typical:

> Persistence; developing expertise that has caused others to be dependent; assertiveness; getting documented via doctorate.

> Do your job as best as you are able and be aware that some discrimination exists; don't classify all 'static' as discrimination, it might be deserved. Don't generalize.

> Be fair and firm—not too successful if the individual is totally prejudiced.

> Very carefully—men are very sensitive and egocentric.

> By being patient and proving myself. Gentle persuasion works better than rabble-rousing.

> By leaving the school.

A related question regarding the reason for the scarcity of women in educational administration elicited a strong, unified response: male attitudes, discrimination, and bigotry. Other reasons advanced, in order of frequency of mention, were socialization/enculturation, women's own preference, lack of training and experience, lack of encouragement, lack of mentors and role models, and other obligations and priorities.

These reasons are consistent with those offered by Pfiffner's respondents in 1972; their responses fell into three general categories—sex role development (socialization), discrimination, and unwillingness on the part of women to accept responsibility. There were fewer responses falling into the latter category among current respondents—and apparently less willingness to blame women for their plight.

Affirmative Action

A factor explored in this study which was not considered in 1972 was the existence and influence of affirmative action legislation and enforcement on gains made by women. The era of affirmative action as it applies to higher education dates from December 4, 1971. By 1981, the year of the current study and a full decade after the first affirmative action legislation affected higher education, virtually all of California's community colleges—as well as most of the rest of higher educational institutions—had implemented Affirmative Action Plans (AAPs) and appointed Affirmative Action Officers (AAOs) to monitor them. According to responses solicited from current women administrators, approximately 75% of AAOs in their institutions are male, and 70% of them are assigned to affirmative action responsibilities on a part-time basis.

Respondents were asked about the extent to which the AAO influences the hiring process in their colleges and districts, and the extent to which improvements have been made in the utilization of women and minorities since the AAP has been in effect. Overall, responses were very mixed; 41% indicated that the AAO influences hiring "substantially," 31% assessed "some" impact, and 28% indicated minimal effect. A similar split was apparent in terms of the second question: 40% felt "substantial" improvements were made as a result of the AAP, 41% felt "some" improvements were made, and 19% indicated that improvements were insignificant.

Respondents were also asked to comment on their assessments; when their narrative responses were categorized as positive, negative, and neutral, 43% were positive, 27% negative, and 17% neutral. Many comments understandably related directly to the respondent's personal experience with affirmative action. One observed, "In my district, they have done and are doing a very outstanding job in hiring. Discrimination only comes from older men who have held the position for a long time and look at a younger female as unable to stick it out." Another noted, "Works well on my campus—especially women in administration—competent, well-respected." Comments ran the gamut from "very important—critical," through "not very effective" to "It is a farce." Several noted that affirmative action was geared more to ethnic minorities than to women, while others commented on the fact that awareness levels have been raised but commitment levels were not typically high.

Two very practical responses addressed the realities of affirmative action's impact. One observed, "If you polled the women you sent this questionnaire, most have come into administration since affirmative action programs went into effect," while another noted that results "depend solely on top administration's attitudes and values—not on what is written in the affirmative action plan."

Current women administrators, then, are collectively but mildly positive in their assessments of affirmative action; individually, their evaluations are colored by their own experiences, and range from highly laudatory to extremely critical.

Conclusions

In sum, the proportional representation of women in top-level administrative positions in California community colleges is substantially greater today than it was ten years ago. Current top women administrators are younger, better educated, have fewer children, are more frequently divorced, and are climbing the administrative ladder faster than their 1972 counterparts. They are upwardly aspiring despite their perception of having experienced discrimination, perhaps because they feel positive about having overcome it. They

value interpersonal skills more highly than any other personal characteristic for success, and advocate hard work, preparation, and helping each other as means for women to overcome male attitudes and discrimination.

Typically, too, they work in colleges and districts with Affirmative Action Plans in place. Many have been hired since the plans went into effect, and feel more positive than negative about the impacts and effects of affirmative action.

In all likelihood, the results of this study can be safely generalized to women in higher education administration nationally. On a national level, too, women have made progress—both in terms of numbers and position levels—during the last decade. Unquestionably, there are many reasons for this progress, including the existence of affirmative action legislation, the resurgence of the women's movement, and growing awareness levels on the part of women both collectively and individually of their own potential, capabilities, and aspirations.

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Personal, Educational, and Career Characteristics of Male and Female Community College Administrators in Massachusetts

Carol A. Paul, Ricki Sweet, and Nancy Brigham

There are few females in top-level administrative positions in community colleges. There is a concomitant dearth of data on the personal, educational, and career characteristics of these female administrators and on male administrators in community colleges. This study was undertaken to identify these characteristics and to provide data which may serve as a surrogate for missing female role models. The 366 male and female administrators in the 15 Massachusetts community colleges were surveyed in May 1977 via a questionnaire that yielded a response rate of 62.3%. Average number of years in a position, educational background, length of time in any one position, and sex were significant variables for all analyses. These findings indicate the additive effect of these variables upon the status of male and female administrators. Sex was the strongest variable, thus supporting the need for women to examine closely and imitate the characteristics of male deans and presidents.

In the spring of 1978, there were no female community college presidents in the 16 community colleges in New Jersey nor in the 15 community colleges in Massachusetts.[1] New Jersey and Massachusetts are likely to be typical, since previous studies have identified few women presidents or top-level administrators in two-year colleges. Thurston (1975) found 3.3% (38) female presidents in two-year colleges; of these, 27 were Catholic sisters. Pfiffner (1972) found 4% (28) females in top-level administrative positions in California community colleges. Until the present research, these two were the only studies that provided data on females in top-level administrative positions in community colleges in the United States.

If the career path to a presidency is through a deanship, then it follows that the unique characteristics of male deans and presidents, other than their maleness, deserve attention and perhaps even imitation by females who aspire to such positions.

A review of the *Dissertations Relating to Community, Junior and Two-Year Colleges* (University Microfilms, 1975) produced only one dissertation on female ad-

ministrators and a mere half dozen on male administrators. It is clear that there is a dearth of data on both male and female administrators in community colleges, despite the fact that two-year public and private colleges provide more faculty employment opportunities for women than do four-year colleges and universities. For example, in 1975-76 women held 33.5 percent of the positions in two-year public colleges and 41.5 percent of the positions in two-year private colleges (Beazley, 1977). During this same time, women held only 17.5 percent and 16.9 percent of the positions in public and private universities, respectively, and 24.4 percent and 24.6 percent of the positions in other public and private four-year institutions. If more females serve as faculty in two-year colleges, it is reasonable to assume that these colleges can offer career paths for females. Studies of two-year colleges may provide a valuable source of information that may help women seeking administrative posts.

Since there are very few females in top-level administrative positions, there are very few role models for aspiring administrators to emulate. Nieboer (1975) has suggested that data on the characteristics of male and female administrators may be substituted for role models. The research discussed here was undertaken to provide baseline information on the characteristics of these administrators and thereby to assist women in their quest for top-level administrative positions in community colleges.

Method

Sample

The population consisted of 366 male and female administrators employed in the 15 community colleges in Massachusetts. No faculty were included in this survey. A response of 228 (62.3%) was realized. Of the respondents, 56 (24.6%) were females and 172 (75.4%) were males.

The sample of 228 was broken into six categories: (1) non-academic males (N = 71); (2) non-academic females (N = 28); (3) academic males (N = 65); (4) academic females (N = 28); (5) deans (N = 26); and (6) presidents (N = 10). The last two categories were all male because there were no female presidents and the two female deans did not respond. For this study, academic persons were defined as those administrators who held a leadership position in the academic component of the college, such as division chairpersons. Non-academic persons included administrators in student services, administration, staff coordinators, and staff assistants.

Questionnaire and analysis

A questionnaire designed to obtain data on personal, educational, and career patterns of community college administrators in Massachusetts was sent to the 366 male and female administrators in May 1977. (A copy of the questionnaire is available from the authors.)

The questionnaire contained fifteen variables: (1) mother's education; (2) father's education; (3) oldest or only child; (4) marital status; (5) mother's influence on education; (6) father's influence on education; (7) father's occupation; (8) mother's occupation; (9) effect of age; (10) staff versus line position; (11) average number of years in a position; (12) position status; (13) educational background; (14) length of time in any one position; (15) sex.

Hypotheses

The following three hypotheses were tested: (1) There is a difference between male deans and all females. (2) There is a difference between the male presidents, male deans, male academics, male non-academics, female academics, and female non-academics. (3) There is a difference in effect of all the variables when compared with status.

Results

Hypothesis 1

Discriminant analysis[2] was used to determine which factors would discriminate between male deans and all females. The most important variable in this classification was sex (discriminant function coefficient = 4.97). The linear equation correctly classified 98.8% of the cases in the sample. 100% of the male deans and 98.2%

of all the females were classified correctly on the basis of the variables used in the discriminant analysis. Only 1.8%, or one female, had characteristics similar to the male deans.

The result of significance testing from the discriminant analysis indicated that four variables—average number of years in one position, educational background, length of time in one position, and sex—separated the male deans from the females. These results uphold the hypothesis that there is a difference between the male deans and the females.

Hypothesis 2

As with hypothesis 1, discriminant analysis was used to determine which variables of the set would distinguish between male presidents, male deans, male academics, male non-academics, female academics, and female non-academics.

The linear equations correctly classified 53.9% of the cases in the sample. The correct classification for each category was: male non-academics: 54.9%; female non-academics: 71.4%; male academics: 44.6%; female academics: 60.7%; male deans: 46.2%; and male presidents: 60.0%

The results of the significance testing indicated that six variables—marital status, age, average number of years in one position, educational background, longevity in one position, and sex—separated the six categories of administrators, thus supporting the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 3

Status was the dependent variable in the multiple regression; the remaining variables were independent variables.

The regression equation accounted for 17.6% of the variance in status. Once again, sex (beta weight = .431) was the strongest variable. These data support the hypothesis and demonstrate a difference in effect for these variables.

Discussion

The bias of the sample of 228 can be considered from several points of view. First, the sample of 228 represented returns from 62.3% of the population. Second, some regional response bias existed in that the three colleges with a response rate over 80% were not city schools, whereas several colleges with responses close to 40% could be considered city schools. Finally, the response from the males in higher status positions was greater (66.9%) than the response from females in these positions (51.8%).

A comparison of the data on the three hypotheses produces interesting results. The total exclusion of father's education, mother's influence on education, father's influence on education, father's occupation, mother's occupation, and staff versus line position would support absence of any effect from these variables. The consistent significance of average number of years in a position, educational background, length of time in any one position, and sex for all analyses would support the additive effect of these variables upon the status of male and female administrators. These latter variables merit thorough discussion.

Two of these variables—longevity in one position and average number of years in a position—may be attributed to the uniqueness of the males in this sample. Some of the presidents have served for ten or more years in their present positions; presidents are also at the top of their career ladders. Thus, for the presidents, these two variables may be a function of the status of their positions. Second, the career orientation of many community colleges attracts male division chairpersons, business managers, and the like, who have had extensive work experience in a business or governmental agency. Their community college roles are often second careers which serve to bridge the gap between their first career and retirement.

The males in this study have better educational backgrounds than the females, although in similar studies, females have been found to be as well educated as men. However, the previous studies primarily sampled females in four-year institutions where the norm for entry is a doctoral degree. The norm for entry into community colleges, on the other hand, has traditionally been a master's degree. In this study, 67.5% of the females have master's

degrees and 12.5% have doctorates; 58.1% of the males have master's and 24.4%, doctorates. It appears that the females have accepted the formal norm of a master's degree, while the males have surpassed it, apparently recognizing an informal norm which equates higher-level educational credentials with higher-status positions. It is possible, too, that the males learned from male role models through the "old boy network" how to acquire resources and adequate time for advanced studies. Since female role models and an "old gal system" were not in place, the females probably were less likely to understand the informal norms.

Still another perspective emerges from an examination of status against educational backgrounds. Most of the male presidents and many of the male deans have doctoral degrees. This discrepancy may signal a need for females to obtain the highest degrees to buttress their aspirations to higher status positions. Females can expect to obtain positions of equal status only if they have equal credentials.

As a variable, sex consistently emerged as significant. The ability to classify such a high percentage of male deans and females through discriminant analysis is important. Equally important is the fact that only one female demonstrated the requisite characteristics to be a dean. A simple review of the career paths of the presidents showed that 80% had previously been deans. If the path to a presidency is via deanship, then it is important to know the characteristics of deans. Obviously, females cannot become males, but they can emulate some of the characteristics of male deans.

In addition to the four variables already discussed, marital status and age emerge as significant variables from the analysis of six specific categories (hypothesis 2). These two variables did not distinguish male deans from all the females (hypothesis 1). This suggests that these variables contribute to the separation of the six more specific categories (hypothesis 2) but do not contribute to the separation of the previous more general categories of male deans and females.

The linear combinations for the six categories (hypothesis 2) correctly classified cases within a range of 44.6% to 71.4%. This is a much weaker prediction than the correctly classified cases of 98.2% to 100% for the two categories (hypothesis 1). Thus, the results from hypothesis 1 suggest that classification for the two categories of male deans and females is a better predictor for this set of variables. These results also reaffirm the four most important variables for distinguishing males from females: average years in one position, educational background, length of time in one position, and sex.

Since sex is the strongest of these variables, it is important that females examine the characteristics of males in top-status positions. If the career path to a presidency is through deanship, then it follows that the unique characteristics of male deans and presidents, other than their maleness, deserve attention and perhaps even imitation by females who aspire to such positions.

Manipulable variables, such as educational background, average number of years in one position, and longevity in one position offer an opportunity to influence one's own career path. Non-manipulable variables, such as sibling order and mother's education, which cannot be altered, deserve less attention. If females are able to deal with variables within their control and use their knowledge of the characteristics of males in top-status positions, they may be able to move along career paths to deanships and ultimately to presidencies in community colleges.

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[1]Between Spring 1978 and the preparation of this article, Massachusetts selected two female presidents and New Jersey, one female president.

[2]The standard linear combinations, the regression equation, and tables providing detailed results from the discriminant analyses and the multiple regression are available upon request from the senior author.

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Activism, Research, and Policy: Sexual Harassment

Sue A. Blanshan

After documenting the seriousness and extensiveness of sexual harassment on the university campus, this article reports on a case study of sexual harassment policy development. A problem-solving model is proposed which equally incorporates the role of activists, researchers, and policy-makers.

Colleges and universities are currently recognizing that they face a substantial barrier to the maintenance of an environment which is conducive to academic and scholastic achievement. This barrier is sexual harassment. A variety of activities have been devised to address, define, and confront the problem of sexual harassment. Among these are political activism on the part of those who view sexual harassment as a severe form of sex discrimination. In addition, research is being conducted to define, describe, and measure sexual harassment in academe. Finally, efforts to develop policy and grievance procedures are being undertaken by students and administrators alike. This paper demonstrates the importance of each of these general types of activities in the university's response to sexual harassment through a case study which illustrates the importance of combining all three—activism, research, and policy development.

Defining the Issue

Sexual harassment is the unwanted imposition of sexual requirements in the context of a relationship of unequal power. It results when any unwanted sexual attention is experienced at school or on the job. In the university setting, the sexual harasser may be a dean, department head, colleague, student, professor, teaching assistant, or adviser; but whatever the nature of the relationship, the essential dynamic of sexual harassment is the use of sex as an instrument of power over another.

The power dynamics of sexual harassment may be illustrated through an analysis of the forms in which it appears. There are two basic types of sexual harassment: the bargain and the course of conduct (MacKinnon, 1979). The bargain is suggested by the sexual harasser and generally goes something like this: if you will have sex with me, I will give you an A in this course (or I will back you for promotion). It may, of course, be stated as a threat. In the second type, the course of conduct, the bargain is not proposed either explicitly or implicitly. Instead, there is pervasive touching, sexually suggestive remarks, or other means of creating an inappropriate, sexually charged atmosphere when the woman (perhaps any woman) is present. This course of conduct says to the woman that she functions principally, if not exclusively, as sexual stimulus for the harasser and that he has the power to keep her in that role. Her official role as student or professional colleague is dismissed as unimportant. The course of conduct may be converted into a bargain at any time by the harasser, in order to obtain and enforce the woman's tolerance of the unwanted behavior. Even when there has been a

consensual intimate relationship, the ending of that relationship may be the beginning of sexual harassment. That is, retaliation may be directed at the woman for her failure to satisfactorily meet the terms of the bargain. Sexual harassment is possible because of women's historically subordinate position in higher education and because of the need some men have to act out their privilege and power in insidious and blatant ways with women and at the expense of women (Richardson, 1981).

When barriers are disproportionately experienced by one category of people solely on the basis of skin color, nationality, religion, and/or gender, this is *discrimination*. When barriers to equal educational and employment opportunity are experienced solely because of one's sex, as is the case with sexual harassment, this is *sex discrimination*.

Women who experience sexual harassment in our institutions of higher education are being denied equal educational and career opportunity. The fundamental injury is the basic disregard for their autonomy and their intellectual development.

Either thwarting or obstructing a person's educational and career goals may have significant economic, social, and psychological consequences. Sexual harassment is one means of blocking women's progress in these areas. When women are made to feel uncomfortable in classes where sexist jokes are continually told, when women feel that they risk a proposition or assault if they socialize with academic associates, when women are thought odd and so labeled for pursuing a male-dominated program, when women must avoid mentoring relationships to avoid pressure for sexual relationships, they are experiencing sexual harassment. The consequences of this type of sex discrimination are often a combination of decreased earning power, social isolation from peers, and lowered self-esteem.

Interference with women's educational accomplishments by faculty and/or peers must be looked at very carefully. Currently, women with four years of college education earn less than men with eighth grade educations (Richardson, 1981). Because women are underrepresented at the higher faculty and administrative ranks, women suffer from a lack of female role models as well as from an absence of informal collegial relationships with other women. The significance of this void is something which men continually minimize but are never required to face themselves. Finally, the psychological trauma experienced by a woman who is told that she was hired to function either as an ornament or a token or, perhaps even more significantly, the trauma suffered by a woman assaulted or raped by an employer or advisor, has begun to be documented in the literature (Backhouse & Cohen, 1978). Women who experience sexual harassment in our institutions of higher education are being denied equal educational and career opportunity. The fundamental injury is the basic disregard for their autonomy and their intellectual development.

The pervasiveness of sexual harassment in the workplace has been well documented in recent years by a number of studies (Safran, 1976, 1981; U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1981; Working Women's United Institute, 1954). Some of these efforts have focused exclusively on the university setting as the place of employment and/or enrollment of the victims of sexual harassment.

These studies indicate that sexual harassment is a very serious problem for students, staff, and faculty women in our universities. Benson and Thomson (1980) found that at the University of California at Berkeley, 30% of the female seniors and 20% of all female students had been sexually harassed by at least one male instructor while attending college. At California State University at Long Beach, Reilly (1978) found that 37% of her student sample had experienced sexual harassment; 82% of these victims were female. A study at East Carolina University found that nearly one in three female

students had been sexually harassed by one or more male teachers (Kraus & Wilson, 1981). While the earlier studies on college campuses focused only on student populations, the later work has generally included faculty and staff populations as well.

A joint committee of students, staff, and faculty at Arizona State University surveyed all three populations in 1980 and found that 9% reported that they had experienced sexual harassment at that university. Of the women in the study, 13% reported being sexual harassed, while 5% of the men reported these experiences. Another finding was that the victim population consisted of 54% students, 17% staff members, and 29% faculty. Among the student victims, 85% were female; among the staff victims, 76% were female; and among the faculty victims, 48% were female.

The joint committee also asked respondents about their perceptions of sexual harassment. Faculty males minimized its frequency and its seriousness more than *any* other category of respondents.

It is therefore strange that they would self-report experiencing such a comparatively high frequency of sexual harassment. A possible explanation of this finding is offered by a descriptive study of sexual harassment conducted by the author at the Ohio State University in 1980. If males reported being sexually harassed, they said that it was no big deal, was flattering, and had occurred in a private setting, such as a residence. However, when females said that they had been sexually harassed, they said that it was frightening, was inflicted by someone of higher status, created fear of or actual retribution, and had occurred in a public educational or professional setting, such as a classroom or office. In other words, in these surveys men are generally *not* reporting sexual harassment, i.e., an imposition by a power superordinate of unwanted sexual demands which threaten one's equal educational or employment opportunity.

The concept of power imbalance that defines sexual harassment as an act of power rather than an act of sex is all too clearly illustrated by the females' responses. Sexual harassment is primarily a women's issue because the targets are predominantly women and the harassers are almost always men. In its first four years, the Alliance Against Sexual Coercion, an advocacy organization in Boston for victims of sexual harassment, has had only eleven male clients, out of 1,500 cases, seven whom reported their harassers to be other men. In a 1980 study conducted by the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 42% of the 20,000 federal employees surveyed reported they had been harassed in the previous two years and that 95% of this sexual harassment had come from men. Sexual harassment results from and reinforces the power imbalance in American society between women and men.

Method

The data for this study were derived by the case study method. Through participant observation of a large public university's response to the issue of sexual harassment and the analysis of documentary material, whenever available, a conceptual model which suggests a constructive and useful approach for mobilizing universities' responses to the issue of sexual harassment was inductively formulated. This model bases its immediate validity on increased awareness and understanding of sexual harassment, protection of victims of sexual harassment, and punishment for the perpetuators of sexual harassment. The model's ultimate validity will be measured in the eventual eradication of sexual harassment on campuses where it is applied. However, it is the development of the model which is being reported here. Its testing will result from applications in a variety of university settings in the future.

Sequence of Events

The basis of the analysis involved a qualitative, descriptive approach to a specific sequence of events which occurred in response to the awareness of and incidence of sexual harassment on campus. This sequence of events occurred over approximately a two-year period from early spring 1980 to late spring 1982. All events analyzed are relevant to the university's response to the problem of sexual harassment on its campus.

On April 11, 1980, Interim Guidelines on Sexual Harassment for Title VII were issued by EEOC. These guidelines would make sexual harassment a form of discrimination and therefore illegal in any organization that receives federal support. The distribution, publicity about, and inevitable enactment of these guidelines evoked interest and attention among high-level administrators at the university, who would be obliged to uphold and enforce the EEOC intent. Independent of this interest, a survey focusing on the nature and extent of sexual harassment of students and faculty at the university was being conducted by the student affairs office for women. Its results documented the existence of sexual harassment for both women students and faculty, and the punitive nature of its impact on these victims. In response to these findings, a student coalition began work on a handbook which would help educate the campus about sexual harassment and the sources of assistance for persons who experienced sexual harassment. Therefore, during the spring of 1980, there were two independent group efforts to deal with the problem of sexual harassment at the university.

By early summer a committee consisting principally of college deans and the director of the affirmative action office was appointed to develop a university personnel sexual harassment policy. Neither campus staff nor faculty, who had conducted research on sexual harassment, nor students, who were developing the sexual harassment handbook, were appointed to this committee.

In July 1980, a draft policy was circulated only to the vice presidents of the university for their discussion and approval. About this time, several things happened to alert the campus women's community to the existence and the content of the draft. A member of the student coalition who interviewed the affirmative action director was told that the university currently had a policy on sexual harassment that was about to be put into effect, and that the director of the student affairs office for women knew about and approved of the policy. The student reported this information to this director, who had not been involved in developing the policy. In the same week, one of the vice presidents asked this director to review and critique the policy.

In early August 1980, the director submitted a thorough critique of the policy, which pointed out some of its major problems. Among these were its undue emphasis on "false accusations" of sexual harassment, which might discourage, perhaps even threaten, any person wishing to file a complaint. The wording of the policy unfortunately suggested that the university's commitment to action against sexual harassment might not be sincere, because it stated only that the university *did not condone* sexual harassment, not that it *would not tolerate* such behavior. The policy also excluded any coverage of student harassers, unless they were university employees and engaged in such behavior while functioning in that role.

At this point, then, a policy statement drafted by high-level administrators without participation of those who had been working on research and a handbook was being hurried through the approval process. Several attempts were made to revise the policy through appropriate organizational channels by women administrators and student coalition members. Despite repeated attempts to suggest revisions, none were made; the final policy statement was distributed early in September 1980.

By the end of September, with the beginning of the school year, political activism against the sexual harassment policy was beginning to take shape. The efforts were generally coordinated by administrators and faculty members who, having failed to obtain revisions in the policy through channels, now turned to collective means. The organizational base of activism came from administrators, faculty, and students associated with the academic women's studies program and the student affairs office for women. Several tactics were used to stimulate a broadbased awareness and discussion of the policy. First, an open letter to the university's "Friends of Women" was distributed. Then an open meeting to discuss the policy was held. Out of this meeting, there emerged

the Ad Hoc Committee to Formulate an Effective Sexual Harassment Policy, composed of faculty and administrators whose work focused on women's issues. There was a timely visit to the campus by Catherine MacKinnon, author of *Sexual Harassment of Working Women*, during which she publicly critiqued the policy. Her visit was sponsored by a campus coalition of women's groups and organizations. The campus newspaper was contacted and utilized as another medium for publicizing difficulties with the policy and the process by which it had been developed and implemented. A letter was written by the ad hoc committee to the president of the university, signed by fifty faculty members, stating the need for changes in the policy. A campus feminist publication with wide circulation ran an editorial criticizing the policy. Finally, after considerable research on legal issues pertinent to the policy and on policies of other universities, the ad hoc committee that had formed out of the open meeting submitted its report and recommendations to the president and the provost.

In early November 1980, the provost sent the Sexual Harassment Policy to three university senate committees, the governing body of the university, for review. Hearing this, the ad hoc committee then forwarded its report to these same committees. Three months later, two of the committees responded by recommending the changes that had been recommended by the ad hoc committee. However, no formal action was taken on these recommendations. In January 1982, one year later, a revised edition of the university's operating procedures was published in which there were no changes in the sexual harassment policy.

This unyielding policy was once again under attack by those seeking its revision. In March 1982, a letter was sent to the provost by an influential faculty member. This letter expressed concern over the fact that the sexual harassment policy had been reissued with no changes. It further stated that the recommendations of two duly constituted university committees were being ignored. This letter was taken as a personal affront and therefore retracted. Nevertheless, one month later the provost appointed an official ad hoc committee to review the policy based on the recommendations of the two committees. By June 1982, a substantially revised policy was received by the director of the student services office for women to review. There was still one reference to false accusations, and it was strongly recommended that it be deleted. In general, however, the policy revision was a supportive statement for women and a clear condemnation of sexual harassment. This revised statement is now the university's official policy on sexual harassment.

A Model For Problem-Solving

One thing that is notable about this sequence of events is the interaction of three basic types of activity on the university campus: research, policy development, and political activism. As the whole university community, rather than one segment of its population, sought to respond to and resolve the issue of sexual harassment on its campus, all three orientations proved to be important. The exclusive use of any one of the three would have had the potential to minimize the response to an important campus problem. In fact, the failure to achieve a balanced use of all three did for a time create difficulties and limited the adequacy of the response. If impeded from

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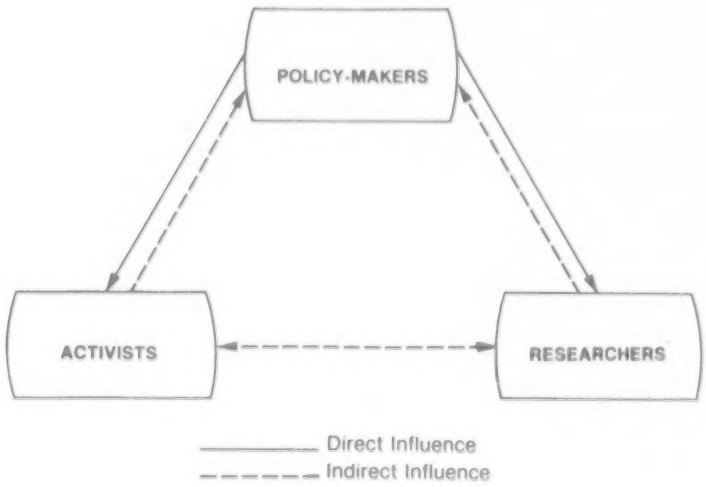
distributing and applying research findings, the researchers would have been able to analyze sexual harassment, but unable to help solve the problem on campus. In isolation, the policy-makers were able to draft a policy but did not know if it addressed the key issues of sexual harassment or if it would be effective when applied. Without some integration into the principal functions of the university, the activists would have been left simply to highlight the significance of sexual harassment without a legitimate means of sanctioning harassers. The interaction of all three strategies works to maximize the awareness and understanding of sexual harassment, the protection of its victims, and the ability to sanction those who harass.

This case study suggests a problem-solving model which, when applied, would facilitate the development of an open process that incorporates a variety of constituencies and sectors of the university. As depicted in the diagram, this model provides a linkage between three types of roles: the activists, the policy-makers, and the researchers. Perhaps it should be stated that "the activists" are also official, legitimate members of the university community, not outsiders, as some may choose to see them. None of these role categories is mutually exclusive; a person could potentially occupy two or more simultaneously. Nor, however, are any of these role categories mutually inclusive; while some activists are also researchers, not all are. The diagram also illustrates the linkages between the role categories. There is either a direct influence, as specified by organizational rules and regulations, or indirect influence, which exists as the result of informal relationships in the university setting. Clearly the policy-makers have control over direct influence, and in this situation have opted to act, for the most part, as if there were no such phenomenon as indirect influence. However, there are other equally valid voices to be heard from in the university. It is from the combination of these influences that action occurs, and from this combination that an adequate response to the problem of sexual harassment evolved.

Problem-Solving Model for Universities



Conclusions

The university's tradition of scholarly research is certainly widely accepted and recognized as legitimate. A distinction may be drawn between what has been called basic research and policy-oriented research, the former viewed as having an intellectual, theoretical basis and the other as having a political, practical basis. Both types of research have focused on the issue of sexual harassment, and both have provided information which may be used to address the issue. In fact, university research has been essential for this society's recognition and understanding of sexual harassment. It is important for these efforts to continue, and for university personnel who are addressing the problem of sexual harassment to familiarize themselves with this research literature.

The American university and the American society has a tradition of political activism, a tradition which has grown out of the university's emphasis on and respect for critical thinking. Campus political activism of the past 20 years has helped both the university and society address a wide array of equity issues. On this particular campus, there is a strong activist base which has addressed a variety of women's and minority issues in the last several years. The reappearance of activism to aid with solving the problem of sexual harassment is consistent with this civil rights tradition.

The model presented in this article describes the process by which it is possible to create an effective university response to a social issue. It is a process which minimizes conflict and delay, while it is open and collective. The experience of this university and the proposed model suggest a process for mobilizing collective efforts and for maximizing the diversity of voices in the policy-making process.

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Combining Home and Career Responsibilities: The Methods Used by Women Executives in Higher Education

Alice W. Villadsen and Martha W. Tack

In the world of scholarly research, little attention has been devoted to the position of the woman administrator in higher education who also has major home responsibilities. In an attempt to determine the various strategies such women have developed in managing their lives, the authors have questioned women administrators in public four-year colleges and universities in the South. Women were asked questions related to career aspirations, effects of child bearing upon careers, child care arrangements, effects of careers upon relationships with children and spouse, household care arrangements, and solutions to the problems of energy drain and time stress. Implications of this study should be of interest not only to women in educational administration but also to institutional administrators who are attempting to find ways to encourage more women to attempt the challenges of administrative careers.

Having a career is not easy for the woman who is a wife and mother. Although it is not atypical for a woman with children to work, special complications arise when she also is interested in a career. In their study of executive women, Fabe and Wikler (1979) state that, "Having a career is different. It involves a sustained investment of intellectual and emotional energy and commitment over a long period of time" (p. 15).

In the past, it has been assumed that the female executive should be a single woman whose full vigor is focused upon her career. More recent studies confirm that career women increasingly are married women and mothers, although marriage continues to be less of a preoccupation for the professional woman than it is for the female population in general. The professional woman often waits unusually late for marriage and determines her future husband's attitude toward a wife with a career before making a marriage commitment (Holmstrom, 1972).

The growing numbers of professional women who do marry often marry a fellow professional. Indeed, marriage to a professional colleague was found by Martin (1975) to promote the successful development of a wife's career more than marriage outside the professional ranks. Even so, the strains of a wife's career

upon a marriage often are unbearable. Hennig and Jardim (1977) cite an unpublished paper by Rosembloom, who states that women who were both married and employed in middle management jobs found "coping with the conflicts which arose between their married role and their job role was the major energy absorber of their lives" (p. 119). Such conflicts are understood easily when one realizes that women who work outside of the home continue to retain at least 75% of the household responsibilities.

Having children creates additional problems for the professional woman. First of all, her decision to have children does not follow the typical pattern. The arrival of children rarely affects the "occupational involvement of the father, but it has a decided effect on that of the professional mother" (Theodore, 1972, p. 22). Therefore, the professional woman is often reluctant to have children at all. If she decides to bear children, she normally has fewer children than typical mothers; she will wait longer than usual before having her first child. Generally, the professional woman will not have children until her late 20s or early 30s (Holmstrom, 1972).

Curtis (1976) notes that researchers from the Educational Testing Service found marriage and motherhood to be the "main impediments to the professional advancement of women with doctoral degrees" (p. 190). Women often described their dilemma in these terms:

> Women with young children sought part-time work....Then by the time women were able to return to full-time work, their field (or the men in their field) had passed them by and there was nothing to do but take the lesser jobs. (p. 190)

With these dire prospects, it is no wonder professional women show reluctance to leave the job market, even for motherhood.

The traditional woman's work of developing child care arrangements, preparing the complicated transportation schedules for active school-aged children, and maintaining contact with children's schools through the necessary teacher conferences and volunteer work further complicates the professional woman's career. The attitude of the husband in such a marriage becomes paramount, as the wife cannot maintain all of the responsibilities without his full cooperation and help.

One of the major concerns of many married professional women is the necessity of career-related relocation and/or transfer of the husband or the wife. Decisions must be made as to the advisability of either partner in the marriage moving at a time that is crucial in the other's career. Traditionally, there has been concern on the part of a woman's employer that she will not accept promotions which require relocation and that she will leave her present position if her husband is transferred in his job. Couples who do not follow this pattern often are considered unusual, but there is evidence that such behavior on the part of married professionals will become increasingly common (Loring & Wells, 1972). In 1972, Holmstrom reported that "if someone takes a risk when deciding where to live, it is almost always the wife who does so" (pp. 148-149). In 1979, a national survey involving 1,000 working women (*Glamour* Magazine) produced some startling evidence of change. When asked if they would request a husband to relocate if they (the women) were offered a better job elsewhere, 83% of the women said they would. In addition, 79% of these women said they felt their husbands indeed would move if they asked them.

For the women who are managing career, home, children, husband, etc., the expenditure of time and effort is sometimes overwhelming. It is apparent that a strong constitution and special skills are necessary for a married woman with young children to be successful in a policy-making position.

Because of such problems, only a few working women have chosen to pursue executive careers. However, if women are to reach their potential in the managerial setting, they must recognize that home and career conflicts exist and develop strategies for coping with them. Identification of the methods used by women who have occupied such positions may be

useful to other women contemplating administrative careers and may help eradicate the myth that only women without families can succeed in managerial positions.

The Study

In an effort to identify the strategies used by women professionals who fill multiple roles, a depth study was conducted using 20 female executives in higher education as a sample population. The women represented the following five Southern states: Alabama, Florida, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Georgia. Sixteen of the respondents were Caucasian; four were Black. The 20 women were or had been married, were mothers of at least one child younger than 18, and held administrative positions in which they reported to presidents or vice presidents of their institutions.

The women were interviewed using a field-tested instrument; they responded to 56 questions related to the strategies they used in balancing their home and family responsibilities. The 20 women were selected by a three-member panel from among the 262 women administrators in the five Southern states, representing 54 public four-year colleges and universities, who responded to an initial questionnaire. The 262 responses represented an 85% return rate for the total sample population.

Coping Strategies Used

Women who hold policy-making positions in an institution of higher education generally are required by society to be model mothers and spouses, concerned citizens involved in civic activities, good teachers, authors of renown, and exceptional managers. Because of the multiple demands made upon their time, executive women have developed strategies for making the management of their homes, careers, and personal lives appear simple. Of course, use of the strategies described below will not ensure success in administration but will enhance the potential for upward mobility, given an institutional commitment to equal opportunity in employment and advancement.

Compartmentalization

The 20 women interviewed found compartmentalization of their time essential. The women attempt to keep work from infringing on home time, and vice versa. In order to maintain such compartmentalization, they arrange for the smooth operation of their homes and have contingency plans for emergencies. In like manner, they take steps to ensure that their work responsibilities do not infringe on their home life.

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Said one mother of two:

> I am "at work" between eight and five, essentially. Once I'm home during their waking hours, I try not to think, act, talk about work, except in areas in which they have some interest. Anything that I do at home relative to work is after they go to bed.

Another expressed her separation in this way:

> Home is home except when those immediate people who constitute my home environment are not present.

Several women stated that because of commuting time—from home to work and back again—they were able to prepare themselves for the transition between their two worlds. One respondent said, "I think that I am fortunate in that it takes one about 30

minutes to get home. I find that during that time I make the transition from work to home."

Delegation

Organization is a key for women who combine the roles of mother and professional. Basic to organization is delegation —to husbands, children, extended family members, household helpers, sitters, or professional subordinates. Although 14 of the 20 women stated that they continued to take the major responsibility for organizing household management, 17 had used others in the actual operation of the household. Half of the respondents had hired full-time maids. Children helped in caring for younger siblings and in completing the household chores. Extended family members—grandmothers particularly—stepped in during crises.

The division of household chores within the family structures of most administrative women seemed to follow traditional patterns. However, among the women interviewed, most indicated that many household chores were joint projects completed by whichever partner "got home first" or "had the most time." Although husbands were described as "supportive," it was noted that their support was frequently more psychological and financial than domestic.

Lowered Housekeeping Standards

Even though half of the women used full-time maids, all indicated that they had lowered their housekeeping standards in order to survive. A woman vice president without paid household help said:

> Anyone who thinks that she can have a successful career and keep a spotless house and cook elaborate meals is heading for an early grave. When I was a full-time housewife before our child was born, I cooked all my cookies from scratch, mopped and waxed floors weekly—everything was lovely. When the baby came, then I lowered the standards of my housekeeping and got more involved in child care. And as I went back to school, then back to work, the house just slipped, slipped, slipped—and now sometimes we'll go a week without a bed being made, our meals sometimes consist of opening a couple of cans and dumping them in a boiler, and I find that we are just as healthy, just as happy. You just have to decide that having a happy, healthy family is more important than having a spotless house.

Thus, the priority of perfection in domestic areas has been eliminated in order to deal with more pressing concerns.

Physical and Intellectual or Artistic Escape

Administrative women rely heavily on physical activity as a coping mechanism. Women reported that they found such involvements as gardening, jogging, tennis, walking, participation in health clubs, and swimming to be essential to their lives. Only three respondents said they were not participants in any form of physical or recreational activity.

Hobbies offered an outlet for 17 of the 20 women interviewed. Community theatre, gourmet cooking, needlepoint, sewing, piano, singing, bridge, gardening, watching television, flower arranging, photography, and painting were some of the essential outlets named. Leisure reading provided escape for 16 interviewees. One woman commented on her reading habits by saying:

> I read trash. Pure, unadulterated trash. It is an escape for me. When I go on trips, I keep a novel with me. Here in my office, I keep a novel hidden in the drawer all the time.... Some days I simply need to pull it out and indulge myself for a while.

The women who did not participate in leisure reading indicated that they often read professional literature while at home. Of course, some of the 16 leisure readers also brought professional reading home to complete at night.

Publishing

Writing for publication, an area where some research has indicated that women fall short of the productivity of men, was seen by seven respondents as an activity to which they felt they devoted sufficient

time. Eight women said that this was one area of their professional responsibilities which they had laid aside in order to fulfill dual commitments at home and on the job. Five women held positions for which writing for publication was an unnecessary activity. Said one respondent, "The writing and publishing is often put on the back burner. Right now I have two pieces that I need to work on." Another woman said, "I find that there is a tremendous strain on my time because what I end up having to do in order to write is to burn the midnight oil at home."

Continuing Education

While a number of respondents had completed a terminal degree, several had not. Among those, some said that they could not manage doctoral programs because of family considerations. A respondent expressed her feelings about continuing her schooling and rearing a family:

> Until my children are grown, I'm not going back to school. I've done that. It got to the point before my master's degree was finished that I thought my children were saying, "I don't ever want to go to college." They saw me as harried, and they attributed all of my stress to the fact that I was going to college. It wasn't. I was stressed because I was working. I was a mother and housewife and a lover and all of those things...plus a student. And that was too much. I would love to get my doctorate. But it's just one of those decisions that I've had to make.

Thus, the women involved had set their priorities and seemed willing to make the short-term sacrifice of professional development in order to cope with the other demands on their time.

Friendships and Social Contacts

Seventeen women said that they did not have enough time to devote to the development and maintenance of good friendships. One woman stated, "I feel lacking a little bit in that area. I don't have time to develop close personal relationships with friends." Another expressed her feeling about social contacts like this: "Socially? What's socially? We do very little entertaining. The time that we have [as a family] is very precious." None seemed to miss the casual friendships which often develop among women who do not work outside of the home; however, the women expressed sadness that they were unable to spend time with close friends.

Vacations

Only six respondents said that they generally took vacations with their families or went alone. The other 14 said that they had been unable to work out appropriate vacation plans because of work schedules. Several women said that they often took long weekends with their families but that it was especially difficult to be away from their demanding careers for weeks at a time. Also, some said that they combined professional meetings with family vacations, sandwiching in a few days either before or after the meeting for sightseeing and relaxing. However, on the whole, the women admitted to some feelings of frustration that their lives were too full to allow for vacation time.

Summary

Educational administrators who are also married women with children face the same problems as those encountered by other professional women who are committed to a career and devoted to a family. They somehow must find the energy, the fortitude, and the justification for maintaining the delicate balance between being mother and manager, wife and administrator, housekeeper and professional woman. In their quest for excellence in their dual roles, they cope with the "double bind" by compartmentalizing home and work time, delegating duties to members of a complicated support network, and engaging in physical

activities and hobbies. Although they are efficient, they still must make sacrifices or delay involvement in some activities; these sacrifices include lowering their housekeeping standards, delaying writing for publication, postponing continuing education, neglecting the development and maintenance of good friendships, and eliminating vacations from their schedules.

The results of this study underscore the idea that married women with young children can be successful if given the opportunity to serve in executive-level positions within higher education institutions. Qualified women are available now, and some strategies for dealing with home and career conflicts have been identified. Institutions should move forward in the utilization of the multiple talents of women managers. Indeed, society at large will be the beneficiary of such action.

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The Woman Principal: Superior to the Male?

Sylvia-Lee Tibbetts

Research indicates that women are better principals than are men. In schools headed by women, children and teachers perform better and morale is higher. Women principals demonstrate a greater ability to work with others and maintain discipline; they are more democratic leaders and display superior teaching expertise. Reasons for the superiority of women principals may be found in their greater teaching experience and higher qualifications for the principalship. Knowing this, women should no longer be satisfied to view the administrator's position as a "man's job," but should feel that it is also a position appropriate for women.

Educational administration is a male-dominated field. It is a matter of statistical fact that men outnumber women at all levels of educational administration: as principals and superintendents; in state and federal departments of education; and even in the leadership of teacher organizations whose ranks are predominately female (Tibbetts, 1979).

The predominance of men in administrative positions is frequently justified on the grounds that men perform better as educational leaders than do women (Fishel & Pottker, 1975). However, the evidence indicates that women administrators are not only every bit as capable as men, they are frequently better (Barnes, 1976; Cirincione-Coles, 1975; Fishel & Pottker, 1973 & 1975; Grambs, 1976; Hulett, 1977); and this evidence has existed for many years (Frasher & Frasher, 1979). According to research reported by Meskin (1974), the performance of women elementary principals has been found to be far superior to that of men (Gross & Trask, 1964); as instructional leaders, "women principals seem to far outshine their male colleagues" (Hemphill, Griffiths & Fredericksen (1962), cited in Meskin, 1974, p. 3). As concluded by Hemphill, *et al.* (1962) "there probably is no reason to prefer men over women as principals" (Hare, 1966, p. 13).

A review of the findings clearly indicates that there is little if any support for the view that men are better suited for leadership in educational administration (Van Meir, 1975). Yet, although

> the credibility of women as administrators should have been established long ago . . . the data supporting the value of women as administrators have been ignored, submerged, and, incredibly, treated with skepticism. (Frasher & Frasher, 1979, pp. 2-3).

Student-Teacher Performance

Data indicate that, on the average, the caliber of performance of both pupils and teachers in schools administered by women is found to be of a higher quality than in schools managed by men (Clement, *et al.*, 1977; Grambs, 1976; Gross & Trask, 1976, cited in Grambs, 1976). Although

Grobman & Hines (1956) found that pupil achievement was not affected by sex of principal, other researchers report that pupils learn better in schools with women principals (Fishel & Pottker, 1973; Pallante & Hilton, 1977). Women principals induce more professional performances and productive behavior from teachers (Fishel & Pottker, 1975; Gross & Trask, 1964, in Meskin, 1974) who consequently use more desirable practices (Grobman & Hines, 1956), resulting in higher ratings for teacher performance in schools with women principals (Frasher & Frasher, 1979).

Morale

While, according to research reported by Clement, *et al.* (1977), Fishel & Pottker (1973), and Meskin (1974), sex of principal was not related to morale of teachers, according to others (Fishel & Pottker, 1973; Grobman & Hines, 1956), both teacher and student morale is better in schools headed by women. The self-image and career aspirations of female students, especially, are higher (Clement, *et al.*, 1977).

Ability to Work With Others

Hemphill, *et al.* (1962) found that women surpassed men in ability to work with teachers and the community (Cirincione-Coles, 1975; Lupini, 1975). Fishel & Pottker (1975), in their review of studies, reported that women principals displayed greater respect for the dignity of the teachers in their schools, had better and closer communication with the teachers, maintained a more closely knit organization, were more effective at resolving conflicts with staff members, were better at reconciling conflicting demands, exercised stronger leadership, and generally exhibited more effective administrative techniques. Parents, it was found, looked more favorably on schools with women principals, were more involved in school affairs, and approved more often of the learning activities and outcomes in the schools headed by women.

Discipline

Even on the question of discipline, parents approved of women principals more often than they did of men (Fishel & Pottker, 1973 & 1975; Grobman & Hines, 1956). Furthermore, Gross and Trask (1976) conclude that:

> The most difficult schools, those with students from lower socio-economic classes, would be much better off with female than male principals, though the latter are perceived as being needed because the schools are so 'difficult.' (cited in Grambs, 1976, p. 297).

There seems to be little reason to feel that "a man, particularly a coach, can keep youth in line better than a weak woman" (Grobman & Hines, 1965, p. 15).

Democratic Leadership

Research has shown that women principals use democratic practices more frequently than do men (Fishel & Pottker, 1975; Grobman & Hines, 1956; Hare, 1966; Hoyle, 1969; Lupini, 1975; Meskin, 1974):

> Women principals used democratic and best practices more often, and authoritarian practices less often, than men . . . women principals operated democratically 22 percent more often than men . . . Women principals were found to act situationally more often than men . . . on the whole, schools with women principals tended to outrank those with men. (Grobman & Hines, 1956, p. 14).

Democratic leadership—which "involves the group in policy-making decisions, allows for individual or group creativity and initiative, demonstrates respect for the dignity of the individual or the group, and fosters two-way communication between the leader and the group" (Hare, 1966, pp. 12-13)—is considered by many to be the most desirable form of leadership (Grobman & Hines, 1956; Hare, 1966; Lupini, 1975), although one study reported by Meskin (1974) found that there seemed to be no relationship between pupil achievement and democra-

tic or authoritarian style. Teachers, however, expressed greater satisfaction "with the human relations which existed in schools administered by democratic rather than by undemocratic principals" (Van Meir, 1975, p. 166).

Teaching Expertise

In research reported by Meskin (1974) and Fishel & Pottker (1975) women principals evidenced greater concern with the social and emotional development of children, and with their individual differences, than did men principals (Gross & Trask, 1964). Women principals also exhibited greater knowledge of teaching methods and techniques and were more concerned with the objectives of teaching (Hemphill, *et al*, 1962; cited by Cirincione-Coles, 1975, Fishel & Pottker, 1975, and Lupini, 1975)—which should not be surprising in light of their years of teaching experience prior to becoming administrators.

Why do Women Make Superior Principals?

Writers attempting to explain the superiority of female administrators—principals, in particular—have suggested that some unique, culturally-ingrained "feminine" characteristics are at work:

> As socialized by the culture, women's styles of interaction which are marked by willingness to accommodate and compromise rather than win at all costs, may be particularly useful in the kinds of situations public school people find themselves in today. (Grambs, 1976, p. 299)

And Frasher and Frasher (1979) write that the evidence "strongly suggests that good school administration is more characteristic of 'feminine' than 'masculine' modes of behavior" (p. 5). Such observations may have led at least one writer to the conclusion that "the ideal principal must now cultivate all the virtues that have always been expected of the ideal woman [or foreign diplomat?]" (Bach, 1976, p. 465).

It is doubtful that even women cultivate all the virtues expected of the "ideal woman"; and it becomes even more doubtful that some special "feminine" qualities are the major cause of female superiority in the principalship when one considers the highly predictable impact of the following factors: (1) women principals have far more teaching experience than do male principals (Collins, 1977; Fishel & Pottker, 1973; Hoyle, 1969; Hulett, 1977; Van Meir, 1975), and (2) in order to get an administrative position in the first place, a woman has to be so much better than a man (Bach, 1976; Clement, *et al.* 1977) that it would be odd, indeed, if women principals were *not* superior to male principals!

It is up to the women to recognize and believe in their own worth and ability, to shake off the shackles of acculturation that have locked them into believing in their own inferiority, and to overcome the socialization process that has discouraged their self-assertion, achievement, leadership, and independence, that has sapped them of their self-confidence and led them to underrate themselves.

"Today, women wait longer for promotions, and most of them are expected to present higher qualifications than men at the same level when applying for advancement" (Bach, 1976, p. 464), since "to get an administrative position, a female . . . teacher must have more prior service than a male teacher" (Hulett, 1977, p. 16). And, because women principals usually have more teaching experience than men (Hoyle, 1969; Van Meir, 1975), they have "learned the ropes better . . . adapted to the system over a longer period of time . . . [and] internal-

ized the values of the schools more deeply" (Grambs, 1976, p. 299). They are more confident than men that their standards are sound and legitimate (Fishel & Pottker, 1973); and it is also likely that their experience is at the root of their less rigid responses to school situations and their greater foresight in their decisions and actions (Fishel & Pottker, 1975). There is a greater probability that women principals are more aware of problems facing teachers than their male counterparts are (Pallante & Hilton, 1977), since they may be more sensitive to problems of other women (Hoyle, 1969). As Collins (1977) points out:

> Women administrators characteristically bring a distinctive and valuable background to their positions . . . they climb the ladder one rung at a time, arriving at their zenith with a wealth of experience in the fundamentals of public education. (p. 19)

So now, it is up to the women to recognize and believe in their own worth and ability, to shake off the shackles of acculturation that have locked them into believing in their own inferiority, and to overcome the socialization process that has discouraged their self-assertion, achievement, leadership, and independence, that has sapped them of their self-confidence and led them to underrate themselves. Women need to realize that men can sometimes be superior to women, and women can sometimes be superior to men —especially in fields where they have dominated—and that in the field of education, women's "climbing scars endow them with a richness of experience few men can match" (Collins, 1977, p. 19).

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The Female Superintendent

Ramona Frasher, James M. Frasher, and Kathryn Hardwick

Eighty-two women superintendents provided information concerning their personal and career development. Results were interpreted in the context of the patterns revealed in an earlier study of female business executives. The superintendents reflected a more traditional orientation during childhood, youth, and early career development and appeared to have integrated masculine modes of behavior as they advanced to higher levels of authority and responsibility.

Margaret Hennig and Anne Jardim based *The Managerial Woman* (1977) primarily on the research findings of Hennig's doctoral dissertation, which was designed to determine how 25 women achieved top-line positions in the male-dominated management world (Hennig & Jardim, 1977; Hennig, 1970). From this work emerged a profile of top-level women administrators. A theme that runs throughout their writing is that the 25 business women had adopted a largely masculine style of behavior beginning in early childhood and continuing through the successful period of early career development. Only after establishing themselves as highly successful middle managers did they integrate aspects of traditional femininity into their life and career styles. Hennig and Jardim conclude their study by providing suggestions for aspiring women executives. Not surprisingly, most of them imply the acquisition and integration of masculine modes of thought and behavior.

The fields of education and business are dissimilar in many ways; among the few parallels is male domination at administrative levels. The 131 women we identified as superintendents of public school districts in 1979 constituted less than 1% of all people in such positions. How did these women make it to the top? Why did they attempt what to many must have seemed an impossible goal?

The questions surrounding the absence of women in leadership positions and the motivations and experiences of those who chose to pursue them are as compelling when applied to the profession of education as to the world of commerce. Are groups of women in each setting similar? Do the patterns of personal and career development of the superintendents resemble those of Hennig's executives, reflecting consistent integration of masculine styles?

Our review of published research on women educational administrators suggested otherwise. These studies indicate that the integration of feminine modes of behavior resulted in high performance ratings and overall evaluations of effectiveness (Frasher & Frasher, 1979). However, the data source for that research consisted of principals and other educational personnel below the level of superintendent. Indeed, at the time we initiated the study described in this paper, we were unable to locate any published information about female superintendents. Therefore, we undertook the task of locating and contacting women superintendents to determine

whether any or all of Hennig's generalizations about women executives applied to women in top positions in educational administration.

Direct comparisons are not possible, since our methodology differed substantially from Hennig's. Hennig employed intensive interviews with 25 female presidents or vice-presidents of large national business or financial firms and based her generalizations on a content analysis of the data organized according to life periods. The sample was restricted to women residing on the eastern seaboard.

In order to provide a more comprehensive profile of female administrators, we chose to survey as many of the women who occupied the superintendencies of autonomous public school districts as possible. We were able to identify and send questionnaires to 131 women who were classified as superintendents of local school systems. Because not every subject responded to every item on the questionnaire, frequency totals sometimes vary.

The 82 responses (63%) we received formed the basis for the information presented in this report.

Size

A few comments concerning size of school districts are relevant to the discussion of study results. Because we are providing at least an informal comparison between high-level women administrators in education and those described by Hennig and Jardim, who concentrated their attention on executives of large firms, we present summary data for our subjects as a whole group, but also include separate statistics for superintendents of large school systems for selected variables.

According to the *Digest of Education Statistics* (Grant & Eiden, 1980), nearly 43 million students are enrolled in public schools in nearly 16,000 school districts in the United States. Most of these districts (approximately 76%) enroll fewer than 2,500 pupils; only about 4.4% have 10,000 or more pupils. The distribution of our subjects by size of district was similar to the national distribution. Four of the superintendents, 5.1% of the total, administered districts of 10,000 or more pupils. The responses provided by those women constituted our data for "large" districts for the purpose of making additional comparisons.

The district size distribution of the other subjects was the following: (1) 5,000-9,999 pupils, 5 respondents (6.4%); (2) 2,500-4,999 pupils, 13 respondents (16.7%); (3) 500-2,499 pupils, 27 respondents (34.6%); (4) fewer than 500 pupils, 29 respondents (37.2%).

Personal Background

Hennig (1970) found a great deal of consistency in the backgrounds of her subjects. All were born between 1910 and 1915 and thus were between 55 and 60 years old at the time of the study, all were oldest or only children, and all were Caucasian and had no religious or ethnic preferences. Their fathers were concentrated in middle-management positions; their mothers were homemakers; in all cases, both parents had at least a high school education.

The superintendents were more varied. Their age range (31-77) was much greater than that of the executives and nearly as many were in their forties (25) as their fifties (29) at the time of the survey. Three were 70 years or older. The superintendents of large districts were in their forties, fifties, or sixties. Their age range was less than that for all respondents but was not as restricted as the 6-year span of the executives.

Our subjects were divided fairly equally among the following birth order possibilities: (1) 16 only children, (2) 23 oldest, (3) 22 middle, and (4) 20 youngest. Not quite half of those responding corresponded to Hennig's generalization.

Furthermore, with the exception of homemaking as the leading occupation of the subjects' mothers, parental background varied widely and differed considerably from Hennig's middle-class, managerial, educated group. Half of the subjects' fathers and more than one-third of their mothers did not graduate from high school. A majority of the fathers farmed or owned a business. And although nearly 60% of the respondents indicated that homemaking was the mother's chief occupation, only

about one-third reported that their mothers never worked outside the home, and a similar number reported that their mothers had been employed during their elementary and high school years. The data also indicated that family background patterns of the large district superintendents were more similar to those of the other superintendents than to those of the executive women.

Professional Preparation

All of the women seemed to have had career goals in mind when they selected their college majors. Hennig's subjects tended to major in business, economics, or liberal arts, and to do so because they were emulating their fathers' occupations or educational preferences. Their postgraduate schooling focused on courses designed to develop specific skills and to meet specific needs.

The superintendents were clearly not emulating their fathers in their career choice, since only three listed educational occupations for their fathers. Some may have modeled their mothers' occupation, since some indicated that their mothers had been teachers. However, most indicated that they had pursued a career because of personal interest and family encouragement and expectation. In contrast to the business women, who elected a college experience that would prepare them for a nontraditional career, the superintendents prepared themselves for one of the most traditional professions for women. A majority of the superintendents elected education at the undergraduate level. Consistent with the trend for women to expect to work with young children, a majority majored in elementary education.

If the selection of a major field at the graduate level can be interpreted as an indicator of career goals, a majority of the superintendents did not plan to become administrators at the time they completed the master's degree. While this is consistent with the tradition that women do not prepare themselves for leadership roles, it contrasts with the early decision to become managers made by Hennig's executives.

It also reflects an additional factor that differentiates the groups. A number of our subjects indicated that they had not initially sought administrative positions but had been asked to serve in such a capacity. In fact, "encouragement or persuasion from others" was the response selected most frequently as the reason for seeking a superintendency and second most frequently as the reason for pursuing a career in administration. Schmuck (1975) reported a similar response from the women administrators she interviewed. The business women also received a great deal of encouragement from their families and superiors, but the decision to enter the management field was clearly their own. For the superintendents, the selection of graduate preparation in educational administration predominated only at the highest level.

Both groups of women tended to "work their way up" through their respective fields. Most of the 25 business women started as secretaries or administrative assistants. All but two of the superintendents were teachers, but their experience in other educational positions varied considerably and does not reflect a consistent sequence of steps through a hierarchy of administrative jobs. Most were principals and more served at the elementary level than at the secondary. These data are consistent with the trend for women administrators as well as women teachers to work with younger children, but are not consistent with the common trend for secondary school administrators to move to the superintendency. At least one-third had served as supervisors or coordinators—central office staff positions that do not frequently lead to superintendent level. All four of the large district superintendents had served as teachers, but only two had been principals. Both had been administrators of both elementary and secondary schools, a career pattern commonly followed by male superintendents.

Personal Development

Hennig organized her discussion around four life periods—childhood, adolescence, college and first-career decade, and career maturity. Among those patterns that

emerged almost uniformly among her subjects were the following:

Childhood was characterized by a warm, supportive relationship with both parents but also by a special relationship with the father that centered on sports, competition, achievement, and generally masculine activities. Independence and cross-sex role behaviors were fostered by both parents. The company and approval of parents was preferred over that of peers.

During adolescence, the special relationship with the father was maintained, but because mothers began to stress traditional femininity, a period of resentment toward them and hostility toward feminine roles and women developed. Good relationships with mothers redeveloped, but the subjects increasingly rejected prescribed feminine behaviors and preferred the company of males. While not rejecting their feminine identity, they admitted to jealousy of male freedoms. Social and academic success characterized both the periods of childhood and adolescence.

In college, academic and social success persisted, as did the preference for masculine environments, including courses, clubs, and organizations. None joined a sorority. Following college, almost all feminine inclinations, including marriage and motherhood, were subordinated to job responsibilities. None married before the age of 35, after they had established themselves as successful in their jobs. During the early career period, each woman formed a special relationship with her boss—a relationship simulating the one with her father—who served as her mentor. Task orientation and job commitment characterized this period.

After successfully achieving middle-management positions, all of the business women experienced a phase of self-evaluation, and during this time an awakening of their femininity appeared to take place. They reactivated their social lives and allowed themselves some leisure. Almost half of them married, and although none bore children, all married divorced or widowed men with children and therefore experienced motherhood. Their husbands were highly supportive of their careers. This period also included the integration of human relations skills with technical competence, resulting in a more personal style of leadership.

The nature of our data does not permit us to trace similar personality development of the superintendents. However, because we asked them to respond to a number of items about their early development and personal characteristics, we were able to produce some generalizations corresponding Hennig's.

During childhood, the superintendents appeared to have had the same kind of warm, secure, and supportive family relationships as business leaders had. Both groups also had a high degree of academic success. However, the superintendents, including those employed by large districts, appeared to have experienced much less sex-role conflict and resentment than the business leaders. The difference is even more marked during adolescence. Whereas the business women largely rejected feminine roles and companions and grew more distant from their mothers, the superintendents' patterns reflected little resentment or conflict regarding sex roles and a closer relationship with their mothers.

Whereas the business women largely rejected feminine roles and companions and grew more distant from their mothers, the superintendents' patterns reflected little resentment or conflict regarding sex roles and a closer relationship with their mothers.

Further indication that the superintendents never "shelved" or subordinated traditional aspects of femininity, as did the business women, is the fact that a large majority (65) were married before their first administrative appointment. Sixty were married at the time of the study and 10 were widowed or divorced. All but five of these had one or more children.

Many of these women not only reported

that their husbands and children had provided a great deal of support for their careers, but also listed family support as a primary factor contributing to their success. Fewer than one-third of those who were married, widowed, or divorced indicated that their marriage or children had disrupted or inhibited their careers. Twenty subjects reported that they had interrupted their careers to move to another location in order to advance their husbands' careers, 22 that their husbands' jobs had prevented their moving in order to advance their own careers, and 16 that they and their husbands had lived separately so both could continue on their chosen career paths. Several women wrote that they had, in fact, taken substantial breaks from their careers to spend full time rearing their children; in response to a question about factors that had impeded the progress of their careers, only 14 of the respondents cited childbearing and homemaking responsibilities. In sharp contrast to the business leaders, most of the superintendents integrated traditional feminine roles with their current development beginning at an early stage, and many combined childrearing, homemaking, and job responsibilities throughout their careers.

A traditional feminine orientation is further reflected in the superintendents' participation in activities from childhood through the time of the survey. Reading and house cleaning were the most frequently listed activities across all age periods, with music, table games, and puzzles popular in childhood and adolescence. Cooking, sewing, child care, gardening, and lawn work were reported by a majority of women during later periods. The only stereotypically masculine activity engaged in by over half of the sample was participation in team sports during adolescence.

The profile of the feminine superintendent begins to resemble that of the managerial woman more closely when current personality variables are considered. We asked the subjects to complete a seven-point bi-polar rating scale of 10 personality factors. More than half of the superintendents rated themselves high in independence, objectivity, logic, ambition, competitiveness, activity, and self-confidence —all traditionally masculine descriptors. The subjects even rated themselves moderate and high in aggressiveness, the most masculine of stereotypes. On the other hand, more than half admitted to being moderately emotional, a traditionally feminine characteristic.

Job Performance

In our earlier study of women in administration, we found a preference for tasks related to the more feminine aspects of their jobs—instruction, curriculum and supervision—and concomitant discomfort with masculine tasks such as budget and facilities. To determine whether a similar pattern would emerge for the superintendents, we asked them to complete a three-point rating scale, expressing their reactions to a number of tasks that superintendents are generally expected to perform. The responses reflected a preference for feminine tasks related to teaching and interpersonal relations; most of the women were "very comfortable" with curriculum and instruction, supervision, human relations, public relations, and personnel. But the majority were also very comfortable with the masculine areas of decision making and budget and finance. They were least comfortable with risk-taking, law, and buildings and facilities, which are also considered masculine domains.

Sex Discrimination?

The literature on women in administration substantiates the widespread assumption that sex bias has been a major factor in the small number of women administrators (Estler, 1975; Frasher & Frasher, 1980). Although the detection of experience or perceptions of sex discrimination was not a major purpose of this study, we did seek to ascertain whether the superintendents felt that their career goals had been adversely affected simply because they were women.

Overall, few women indicated that sex bias had impeded the progress of their careers. An equal number wrote that they felt that their feminine characteristics had given them special advantages; i.e., they credited a degree of their success to their ability to work well with all kinds of people, to compromise, and to be both sympathetic

and empathetic. Domestic responsibilities and overt and covert sex discrimination were recognized as inhibiting factors by approximately 15% of the respondents, including, in each case, two of the four superintendents of large districts. They also reported overwhelming support for their decisions to pursue administrative careers.

The Profile

To describe a composite female superintendent from the data we have presented would be unfair to the 82 individuals who contributed the information for this report. Our findings confirm that variation and individuality are their major common characteristics. However, on the basis of this information, we can make a few generalizations about the women who now occupy school superintendencies.

These women have developed nontraditional skills and personality traits that have allowed them success in a field dominated by males.

These skills and traits emerged from highly traditional family backgrounds, educational experiences, and early career development.

The superintendents expressed overall satisfaction with their sex-role socialization, with respect to both their personal and their professional development.

They attribute their success primarily to competence and hard work; they consider family support—of husbands and children as well as parents—to be a major contributor.

They did not perceive sex discrimination to be a deterrent to the advancement of their careers.

Superintendents of large districts differed from the other women with respect to only a few variables: they were more likely to have had secondary school administrative experience and to identify sex-role-related factors as inhibiting their careers.

The female superintendent does not closely resemble the managerial woman. Why not? We believe that the answer most probably lies in the fact that education is essentially a feminine field that has incorporated masculine modes primarily at administrative levels while maintaining a feminine orientation at operational levels. Women can and do feel comfortable in educational settings and while they have recognized that certain aspects of traditionally male behavior must be acquired to assume leadership positions, they have not found it necessary to forego feminine social experiences or to extinguish feminine patterns of behavior in order to become successful leaders.

The obviously strong gender identity may also account for the fact that few of the superintendents felt that they had been the victims of discrimination, when sex bias in educational administration has been well documented. To have made such an admission would have been to many of them tantamount to denying their value to a profession to which they had dedicated themselves for many years. In any event, sex discrimination did not prevent any of these individuals from attaining their goals.

The model that these women represent is an individual who has achieved a nontraditional position through traditional channels and experiences. It is a more optimistic profile than that of the managerial woman, whose birth order and parents' socioeconomic status and education set the stage for her success, and whose drive for achievement denied her many social experiences enjoyed by most men and women.

Tabular data are available from the authors.

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